UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
3 1761 07097431 6

ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
TRANSFER
ST. BASIL'S SEM.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/catholicuniversi10washuoft

The Catholic University Bulletin.

VOL. X. *JANUARY, 1904.* *No. 1.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
LANCASTER, PA., AND WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
10 ELMSLEY PLACE
TORONTO 5, CANADA.

WITHDRAWN

OCT 10 1931

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY.
LANCASTER, PA.

AUG 30 1960

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. X. *January, 1904.* *No. 1.*

AN EXHIBIT OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES.

The work of preparing for the St. Louis Exposition, to be opened in April, 1904, an exhibit of the Catholic charities in the United States has been undertaken by the School of the Social Sciences in the Catholic University. The plan has met such cordial encouragement from Archbishops, Bishops, the Catholic press and Catholic laymen who are active in charity work that the timeliness of the exhibit is manifest and the successful outcome of the work is practically assured.

The relief and care of the needy and the helpless, the reformation of the wayward and the protection of the young who may be exposed to moral danger have been, during all Christian times, works which were dear to the heart of the Church. Recent centuries have seen States attempting to enter upon the same work; in more recent times the spirit of philanthropy has given rise to every variety of voluntary organization, having in view the same purpose, that of relief, care and protection for the weak and the needy—and too often more or less independently of religion. Increasing social knowledge, more accurate appreciation of social forces and better methods in some phases of the administration of charity mark the newer work and make it conspicuous, though these have added nothing to the noble impulses and high aims that dominated Christian hearts from the beginning in works of charity.

To-day, charity-work is recognized as one of the noblest in civilization, as it has been recognized since the days of Christ as one of the noblest in all religion. Thus it is that we find everywhere men and women of position and influence devoting much time and energy to social work of one or another kind; business men giving generously of their time and energy to the works of charity. Conventions and conferences are regularly held, studies and investigations are made, methods are improved in a way that promises much for the efficiency and wisdom of charitable endeavor.

For years the study of the efficiency of methods of charity and correction has been steadily winnig ground in universities throughout Europe and America, and the volume of literature in the form of studies, reports and periodicals has increased to an extraordinary extent. The culmination of this recognition was reached when the Paris Exposition gave much space and careful attention to an exhibit of charitable work. The attention which that exhibit attracted demonstrated the wisdom of it. Thus the Directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition have good warrant for giving special prominence to a general exhibit of charitable work in the United States.

The emphasis and prominence thus given to the work of charity and correction make it imperative that the works of the Catholic Church be represented. The number and variety of her charities is very great, the consecration of men and women by thousands to these works amounts to heroism—for we find in that consecration the acme of unselfish love of humanity. Now that the world is testing religions by the mercy they practice, it seems imperative that the Church place before the world these abundant evidences of her charity, mercy and humanity.

The exhibit will be arranged in a way to show the organization, activity, resources, expenditures, the numbers assisted or relieved, methods of assistance in hospitals, asylums, homes, social settlements and through associations. These totals will be presented literally and graphically; that is, they will be accompanied by maps, charts and tables which will show concretely and strongly the absolute and the relative features of the work.

Those who are in charge of the work are very anxious to make it exhaustive. It is desired that every club, guild or society of any kind in the United States organized by Catholics for purposes of charity and every mutual association for relief or protection be represented in the totals of this exhibit. Request is made, therefore, that the secretary or other officer of such clubs kindly send to the School of Social Sciences at the University, their name and address, so that information may be asked from them concerning their activity. While numerous facilities are at hand to make it possible to find many of these organizations, it is scarcely probable that all such will be found, unless a kindly coöperation on the part of officers and friends of such associations be forthcoming.

Any such favor, as that here requested, will be gratefully appreciated, although the consciousness of the nobility of the work itself will surely stimulate all who may read this notice, to give assistance. Communications may be addressed to the School of the Social Sciences, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

BEGINNINGS OF THE TEMPORAL POWER.

That the Roman Church, at an early date, was in possession of considerable wealth, is a well known fact. Eusebius[1] has preserved a highly interesting extract from a letter of Dionysius of Corinth to Pope Soter (168–177), from which this inference follows.

"From the beginning," he writes, "it has been your practice to do good to all the brethren in various ways, and to send contributions to many churches in every city. Thus relieving the wants of the needy, and making provision for the brethren in the mines by the gifts which you have sent from the beginning, you Romans keep up the hereditary customs of the Romans, which your blessed Bishop Soter has not only maintained, but also added to, furnishing an abundance of supplies to the Saints, and encouraging the brethren from abroad with blessed words as a loving father for his children."

From Basil of Cæsarea we learn that the enviable reputation for charity enjoyed by the Roman Church in the second century was equally deserved in the third.[2]

The insecurity under which the Christians of the era of persecution lived made the undisturbed possession of landed estates difficult. Yet, that the Church was, to some extent, the owner of real property, is beyond question. De Rossi's well-known theory as to the legal tenure of Roman cemeteries is generally accepted. According to this author, the Christian community was organized as a burial society and as such enjoyed, under the laws regulating these bodies, the right to hold property for purposes of interment.[3] The edict of Milan also shows that the Church was the legal owner of other property in addition to its cemeteries. The Emperors Licinius and Constantine ordered that all Christian places of assembly previously confiscated, and sold for the benefit of the State, be forthwith restored to the Church. The edict expressly refers,

[1] H. E., 23.
[2] Ep. 70.
[3] Duchesne rejects this hypothesis and holds that Christians held property under the general laws of the Empire. Cf. Les Orig. Chrét., c. XXIII.

in another place, to churches "which belonged not to individuals, but to their society in general."[1]

A curious phrase of the Liber Pontificalis in the life of Pope Sylvester[2] is believed to be of importance in this regard. Among the estates there enumerated as having been given by Constantine to the Roman Church of St. Lawrence is one *præstans nomini Christianorum.* This expression, according to Duchesne, appears to have reference to an estate formerly owned by the Church, but confiscated during some persecution, and now returned to its rightful proprietors.[3]

By a law of the year 321, Constantine granted to all persons capable of making a will, the right to leave property to the Church. This marks the beginning of a new period so far as concerns the Church's possessions. The Emperor himself led the way in generosity by endowing munificently the various basilicas of Rome. Naturally, his example would be followed by wealthy Christians throughout the Empire. The political conditions from the beginning of the fifth century were also favorable to an increase of donations to the Church. Italy became the prey of Visigoths, Vandals, Huns, Ostrogoths and Lombards, successively. All ordinary means failing to relieve the distress caused by their depredations, the Church's well-organized system of aiding the victims of invasion alone responded to the needs of the hour. Persons desiring to help in the work could not fail to see that their contributions to this object would be expended with the greatest advantage through her instrumentality.

Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the motives thus far outlined were the sole or the most important incentives towards the endowment of religious institutions. The principal reason is found in the Gospel itself: "Go sell what thou hast and give to the poor, . . . and come, follow me."[4] Disgusted with the semi-paganism introduced into Christian society by interested converts in the fourth century, great numbers of earnest men and women withdrew wholly from the public gaze in order the better to devote themselves to God's

[1] Lact. De Morte Pers., c. 48.
[2] Liber Pontificalis, I, 182, ed. Duchesne.
[3] L. P., I, CL, sq.
[4] Matt. XIX, 21.

service. To this class belonged Pammachius, a member of the Senate, and descendant of consuls who, after the death of his wife, devoted himself to the service of the poor. The remains of a xenodochium erected by him at Porto Romano in 398 may still be seen. Paulinus of Nola was another scion of a consular and senatorial family who was drawn from the world by the desire of imitating more closely the Divine Master.

Each and all these causes, according to circumstances, contributed to the enrichment of the Roman Church. Her ancient and splendid traditional reputation for universal charity was alone sufficient reason to induce Christian testators to intrust part of their earthly goods to her care for the benefit of the needy. Pope Gregory the Great, himself a descendant of the ancient house of the Anicii, resigned his office of Urban Prefect, and donated his estate to ecclesistical institutions preparatory to taking the habit of a Benedictine monk.

The term *patrimonium* by which the possessions of the Roman Church, as well as those of other churches, came to be known, was previously applied to the imperial estates. A distinction is here to be noted between two species of endowments in the Roman Church. The first class consisted of the grants made by Constantine and others to specific Roman basilicas. Such were the *fundi* enumerated by the author of the Liber Pontificalis in the life of Pope Sylvester.[2] With these we have no concern. The patrimonies of St. Peter constituted the second class, the patrimonies properly so called. When the term was first employed is not known; though it is believed to have been soon after the peace of the Church. The earliest literary reference to it is in a letter of Pope Vigilius of the year 549.[3]

The fact that the popes were great landed proprietors as early as the second half of the fourth century is well established.[4] Yet no specific reference to their estates is found be-

[1] Cf. Bulletino di Arch. Crist., 1866, 50 sqq. and St. Jerome, Ep. LXVI: Domum panis ædificas et diuturnam famem repentina saturitate compensas. From St. Jerome also we hear of the hospital founded at Rome by the patrician Fabiola: "Et prima omnium nosocomium instituit in quo ægrotantes colligeret de plateis." Ep. LXXVII (Migne P. L. XXII, p. 694).

[2] L. P., I, 170 sqq.

[3] Jaffé-Kaltenbrunner, Regesta Pont. Rom., No. 923. (Cited henceforth as J–K.)

[4] Ammian. Marcell., 27, 3.

fore the year 432. At this date a letter of Pope Celestine I to the Emperor Theodosius II refers to certain property in Asia Minor, left by a lady named Proba to the Roman Church. Its revenues were ordered to be distributed annually to the clergy, the monasteries, and the poor.[1]

In the letters of Pope Gelasius, reference is made to the possessions of the Roman Church and the way in which they were administered. He speaks of *prædia in provincia Piceni jacentia,*[2] of certain *fundi* from which the yearly income amounted to thirty golden solidi;[3] and in a third instance charges the Dalmatian bishop Agilulf with the care of the Roman Church's patrimonies in that country.[4] The custom of committing the administration of patrimonies to the bishops within whose dioceses these were situated still survived in the time of Pope Pelagius (555–560);[5] but, apparently, the appointment of special *Rectores* for this purpose was even then the rule. Other letters of Pelagius refer to rectors of the patrimonies in Apulia, Campania and Sicily.

Patrimonies of Sicily.—Thus, little by little, the landed possessions of the Roman Church increased, until by the time of Gregory the Great (590–604) the Popes had become the largest proprietors in Italy. Most of the information at hand relative to the extent and administration of the estates held by the Church is found in the letters of Gregory, whose early experience as Prefect of Rome was highly useful for so large a landowner. At that date the most important patrimony, by far, was that of Sicily, which was so extensive that, it is generally believed, a large number of Sicilian *fundi* were purchased with the proceeds accruing from the sale of more remote patrimonies. A sixth century Byzantine writer makes the statement that in the Roman Church the custom prevailed of selling the landed property willed to it, and dividing the proceeds evenly between the bishop, the clergy, and the poor.[6] So far as concerns the general practice of the Popes this information is certainly incorrect, but it is evidently not wholly unfounded.

[1] J–K, 386.
[2] J–K, 633.
[3] J–K, 666–667.
[4] J–K, 686.
[5] J–K, 951.
[6] Theod. Lector., II, 53.

The discrepancy between this author's assertion and the known facts may be removed by assuming that the popes sometimes disposed of their Oriental possessions, and with the proceeds purchased property in Sicily. This fertile island, the granary of Italy in the time of Gregory I, was conveniently located. The Church's patrimonies here could be much more easily administered than that, for example, of Proba in Asia Minor. The hypothesis proposed would, consequently, account at the same time for the extraordinarily large patrimony of the Church in Sicily, and the partial accuracy of the statement of Theodorus.

However this may be the Sicilian patrimony comprised four hundred farms or *condumæ*.[1] An idea of the income of these estates may be obtained from the fact that the annual tax paid to the State was 1,521 golden solidi, or about $5,000.[2] In the eighth century, when the patrimonies of southern Italy and Calabria were confiscated by Leo the Isaurian, their joint revenues amounted to three talents and a half of gold annually.[3]

Patrimonies of Bruttium and Lucania.—Though not expressly mentioned in the letters of Gregory the Great, it is not improbable that the Church at that date was in possession of estates in Bruttium and Lucania. A notary and a subdeacon of the Roman Church at that time resided in these provinces; it was to such officials that the care of patrimonies was usually entrusted. Moreover, Gregory ordered a large quantity of beams from the forests of Bruttium to be forwarded to Rome where they were used in the roofing of basilicas.[4] This fact points to the existence of a patrimony in the province referred to. In any event the Roman Church owned considerable property in Bruttium towards the close of the seventh century.[5] This formed part of the Calabrian patrimony confiscated by Leo the Isaurian.

Patrimonies of Apulia, Calabria and Campania.—These patrimonies are all mentioned in the letters of Pelagius I. The subdeacon Melleus, and Lucius, afterwards *defensor*, ad-

[1] Greg. Mag. Ep., II, 38, ed. Hartmann.
[2] Ibidem, I, 42.
[3] L. P., I, 422, n. 10.
[4] Ep. VI, 58.
[5] L. P., I, 369.

ministered the two former; the latter was in charge of an official named Constantine. The patrimony of Campania, much more important than those of Apulia and Calabria, is thought to have been subdivided into a northern (Cajetanum) and a southern (Neapolitanum) portion. To the latter appertained the patrimony of the island of Capri.[1] These were also lost to the Roman Church in the course of the eighth century.[2]

Patrimonies of Central Italy.—No direct reference to any estates in central Italy is found in the letters of Gregory the Great. Yet, that the Roman Church owned considerable property in Rome itself, and in the vicinity, can be inferred from certain passages in this Pope's correspondence. Writing, for instance, to the subdeacon Sabinus, he orders the transfer of a tract in the first region to a person called Euprepia.[3] He also granted a house in the fourth region to the abbess Flora for use as a convent.[4] Later on Pope Sergius I, in 701, gave several *fundi* to the Church of St. Susanna from "the urban patrimony within this City of Rome."[5]

An important part of the urban patrimony was a tax levied on commodities brought into the city. Then as now customs officers collected duties at the gates of Rome. These officials were not, however, originally employees of the State, but of societies to which the State let the privilege. The Liber Pontificalis records the case of a lady who ceded to a certain church her rights to a portion of the taxes thus received at the Porta Nomentana.[6] At a later period, according to the Liber Diurnus, all the revenues accruing from duties at the city gates belonged to the Pope.[7]

John the Deacon, in his life of Gregory the Great, speaks of a patrimony in Tuscany, the rector of which was a certain Candidus.[8] Gregory himself writing in 599 to the notary Eugenius, conceded to a monastery in this territory for the term of thirty-six years, certain *fundi* from the *Massa Gratiliana*.[9] In

[1] J–K, 2616, 2617.
[2] J–K, 2364.
[3] J–K, 1160.
[4] J–K, 1221.
[5] J–K, 2135.
[6] L. P., I, 223 n. 15.
[7] Lib. Diur, formula CIV.
[8] Vita S. Greg. II, 53 (Migne P. L., vol. 75, col. 110).
[9] J–K, 1621.

the reign of Pope Honorius (625–638) there appears to have been a *Massa Stracesis* near Civita Vecchia.[1] A century later the patrimony of Tuscany was one of the most important in the possession of the Roman Church. From the Register of Gregory II (715–731) we learn that this required two administrators, and was divided into the Tuscan patrimony proper, and the suburban Tuscan estate.

Sabine Patrimony.—In a letter of 593, Gregory the Great speaks of a Sabine patrimony.[2] Nothing further is heard of it until the middle of the eighth century, when it was restored to Pope Zachary by Liutprand after it had been in possession of the Lombards for thirty years.[3] Frequent reference is made by Gregory II to a *Patrimonium Tiburtinum.* Whether this subdivision was occasioned by the growth of the suburban patrimony or by a new distribution necessitated by the Lombard occupation is not clear. Two *massæ* of the *Tiburtinum* patrimony, the Sabine and the Aliana, are referred to by Gregory II.[4]

In the time of Gregory the Great a *patrimonium Cartiolanum* existed and was administered by the same official as the Sabine patrimony.[5] Nothing further is known of it. At this date also there was a patrimony near Nursia, in charge of the *defensor* Optatus.

Patrimonium Labicanum.—In the year 558 a patrimony near Præneste was administered by the bishop of that city.[6] No earlier notice exists relative to the Church's estates on the Via Labicana. During the eighth century these were vast, numerous and valuable. The Register of Gregory II mentions the names of nine *massæ* and one *fundus.* This flourishing patrimony is again referred to in the decrees of the council held at Ravenna in 877.

Patrimonium Appiæ.—An important patrimony referred to by Gregory the Great lay in the vicinity of the Via Appia. This Pope detached from it the *massa "ad aquas Salvias,"* comprising eight *fundi,* for the benefit of the basilica of St.

[1] J–K, 2036.
[2] Ep. Greg. M., III, 21.
[3] L. P., I, 428.
[4] J–K, 2226 and 2220.
[5] Ep. Greg. M., III, 21.
[6] J–K, 951.

Paul.[1] Over a century later the Register of Gregory II enumerates eight *massæ* belonging to the Appian patrimony. It appears to have embraced all the estates owned by the Roman Church between the patrimony on the Via Labicana and the sea.

Other Estates in Central Italy.—At the beginning of the seventh century Samnium was in the hands of the Lombards and, in consequence, we hear nothing at this date of a patrimony in that province. In Ortona, however, still a part of the Exarchate, the Church held property of which the *defensor* was a certain Scholasticus.[1]

Pope Gelasius speaks of a patrimony in Picenum from which he received arrears of rent amounting to 500 solidi. The next notice of the estates in this part of Italy is found in a letter of Honorius I (625–638), in which he refers to a monastery at Firmana as "juris beati Petri."[2] Among the restitutions made by Liutprand to Pope Zachary were patrimonies in this province situated respectively near Auximum, Ancona and Humana.[4]

Patrimonies of Northern Italy.—Patrimonies existed near Ravenna and Istria during the pontificate of Gregory the Great. They were, apparently, administered by the *apocrisiarii* or legates of the Pope resident in Ravenna. These are mentioned again in the latter part of the eighth century, hence it may be inferred that they remained in possession of the Popes up to the date of the establishment of the pontifical State.

John the Deacon is authority for the statement that the Roman Church owned a patrimony in Liguria at the commencement of the seventh century.[3] According to this author Gregory the Great appointed the notary Pantaleon as administrator. Fabre has shown, however, that Pantaleon was, in all probability, given charge of the patrimony in the Cottian Alps rather than of one in Liguria,[4] which was then occupied by the Lombards who usually confiscated the estates of the Church situated within the limits of their conquests. All the patrimonies mentioned in the Registers of Gregory the Great

[1] J–K, 1991.
[2] J–K, 2033.
[3] Vita S. Greg., II, 53.
[4] Fabre, Mélanges d'arch. et d'histoire, IV, 383; L. P., I, 387, n. 8.

and Honorius were located in places still subject to the empire, the single exception being that of Provence, in Gaul.

The Roman Church held patrimonies also in Corsica and Sardinia. These are referred to by Gregory the Great and his biographer, John the Deacon. Of their extent and subsequent history nothing is known.

Patrimonies Outside of Italy.—In the fifth century a small patrimony situated in Dalmatia is mentioned by Pope Gelasius.[1] It was administered, rather badly it appears, by the subdeacon Sebastian, during the pontificate of Vigilius (538–555). Things were little better under the rectorship of the Delmatian bishop Malchus, who was cited before the courts by Gregory the Great to give an account of his stewardship.[2] These estates, apparently of little importance, "exiguum patrimoniulum," are no longer heard of after the occupation of this portion of the Empire by the Slavs in 640. A *Patrimonium Prævalitanum* mentioned by Pope Vigilius was also lost to the Roman Church through the Slavic invasion.

Another "small patrimony," as Gregory the Great calls it, situated in the neighborhood of Marseilles, is first heard of during the pontificate of Pelagius I. It was then administered by the patrician Placidus, a relation of Sapaudus, bishop of Arles. The Pope requests his representative to expend the revenues in purchasing clothing and certain utensils, and forward these to Rome, where they were needed on account of the desolation of the Church's Italian estates.[3]

Gregory the Great, deriving little revenue from the Gallic patrimony, because, apparently, of maladministration, sent a special official to Gaul, whose duty it was to look more closely after the Church's interests. After his time nothing more is heard of this property.

In the first year of this pontificate, the same Pope appointed Hilary, a notary, to the office of Administrator of an African patrimony. He recommends the new *rector* to Gennadius, exarch in that country, and to Gaudiosus, *magister militum*.[4]

---

[1] J–K, 686.
[2] Ep. Greg. M., I, 36; II, 22; III, 22.
[3] J–K, 943, 947.
[4] Ep. Greg. M., I, 73, 74.

The only further notice of these possessions is by John the Deacon, who speaks of the forementioned Hilary as *rector patrimonii Germaniciani.* Germanicia was a city in the vicinity of Hippo, and mentioned in a letter of St. Augustine. The Saracen invasion ends the story of the Church's African patrimony.

Component Elements of a Patrimony.—In the foregoing sketch of the various patrimonies appertaining to the Roman Church, several terms, unfamiliar to the average reader, have been cited in the original Latin because of the want of exact English equivalents. Of these the two in most frequent use are *fundus* and *massa;* the term *saltus* occurs only occasionally in papal registers. The *patrimonium* itself, we have seen, was composed of *massæ,* and was the term ordinarily employed, before its adoption by the Church, to designate the estates of the Emperors: *patrimonium sacrum sive divinæ domus.*

According to Fustel de Coulanges, whose authority in this matter is of the first order, the term *fundus* conveyed the idea of full and absolute ownership.[1] It was applied to a domain, large or small, and was synonymous with another expression not unfrequently found in Papal documents, *prædium.* The word *ager,* ordinarily translated as *field,* was still more frequently employed in the sense of *fundus,* a landed estate.

Fundi almost invariably were designated by the name of a former owner. Thus in the patrimonies of the Church such designations as *Fundus Cæsarianus, Fundus Octavianus,* found as late as the eighth century, evidently originated at a much earlier period.

As time went on the term *massa* came to be used in connection with landed property. A *massa* comprised several domains or *fundi,* not necessarily adjoining one another, but all under one proprietor. After Constantine *massa* appears in frequent usage. The various *fundi,* at the same time, retained their proper names; while the *massa,* in this differing from the *fundus,* frequently receives its designation from the territory in which it was located; *Massa Praenæstina, Massa Tuscia.* In other instances the most important *fundus* in the *massa*

[1] L'Alleu, pp. 15, sqq.

gives its name to the latter, thus *Fundus Steianus in Massa Steiana.*

At the beginning of the imperial period there were in Italy and the provinces great tracts of forest and mountain land called *Saltus.* By degrees these were brought under cultivation by colonists, though they retained the name by which they were originally known. Julius Frontinus describes one as follows: "It belongs to a single proprietor, though vast as the territory of a city; in the center stands the residence of the master; at some distance and all around is a girdle of villages inhabited by peasants who belong to the owner." So large were *saltus* generally that at least one of those belonging to the Roman Church appears to have had its own bishop.

Rectors of Patrimonies and their Assistants.—Each important patrimony of the Roman Church was administered by an officer whose official title was Rector. Smaller estates were placed under the supervision of the local bishop, or some trustworthy layman in the vicinity.

Rectors were usually selected from among the inferior orders of the Roman clergy: deacons, subdeacons, defensors and notaries. Subdeacons were more frequently appointed to this office than representatives of any other order; priests very rarely. So desirable was the appointment regarded that Pope Conon (686–687) was severely censured for making a deacon of Syracuse, named Constantine, Rector of the Sicilian patrimony.[1]

Administrators of patrimonies were appointed by the Pope. The conferring of the brief giving the new Rector authority over a certain district was the occasion of a rather solemn ceremony. The papal document was handed to him in St. Peter's before the "Confession" of the Apostle. In addition to the letter of appointment he received written instructions as to his duties, and finally took the oath of office, called the *cautio.*

The Rector's authority was quite extensive. He was the Pope's immediate representative. "Where we cannot be present, we command that our authority be represented by him," wrote Gregory the Great.[2] He was admonished to see that the

[1] L. P., I, 369.
[2] Ep. I, 1.

colonists be kept under proper control, that *conductores* treat those under them kindly, and above all that no injustice be tolerated towards any member of the Church's *familia*.[1] And in the event of the Rector failing to perform his duties faithfully the poorest farmer might appeal to the Pope for the redress of his grievances.[2] How carefully Gregory the Great watched over the interests of the colonists will appear as we proceed. No doubt other Popes were equally solicitous; but our information on the subject of patrimonies is derived chiefly from the letters of Gregory. Only occasional references are found elsewhere.

All revenues were received by the Rector or his assistants, from the various conductors of the patrimonies. Part of the amount was transmitted to Rome; the remainder was expended in the purchase of wheat from the colonists, on necessary repairs to their houses and barns, and for charitable purposes. On the estates of the Church there were always numerous monasteries, churches, and institutions for the care of the poor, and for pilgrims, all of which were maintained at her expense.[3] The patrimonies of St. Peter were primarily *res pauperum*, the goods of the poor;[4] one of the most important duties of the Rector, consequently, was to minister to the needs of the indigent. He also exercised supervision over the various institutions in his patrimony.[5]

The assistants of Rectors were known as *actionarii, notarii* and *defensores*. *Actionarii* appear to have been stewards who looked after the general interests of the estates. They received the rents, regulated disputed questions between colonists, such as those concerning boundaries, and were charged to see that no colonist should leave the patrimony.[6] *Notarii*, as the name implies, evidently had charge of the bookkeeping department; the *defensores* looked after the poor, and charitable institutions. Notaries and defensors, in some instances, held the offices of Rector; this, however, was exceptional.

---

[1] I, 42; Lib. Diurn., LIII.
[2] Ep. IX, 43.
[3] Ep. Greg. M., I, 23, 54; II, 38.
[4] J–K, 684.
[5] Ep. Greg. M., VI, 4, 5, 35; I, 18, 23, 71.
[6] Ep. Greg. M., I, 11, 42 and 53.

Colonists.—From the letters of Gregory the Great, we learn that under the Rector of a patrimony, two classes of men were engaged in the culture of the land, *coloni* or *rustici,* and *conductores.*

The terms *coloni* and *rustici* are used in the same sense and apply to the same class of agriculturists. Although *colonus* cannot strictly be translated as *colonist,* for convenience' sake the more familiar word is here adopted; the meaning attached to it will appear as we proceed.

The colonist of the seventh century was a farmer who paid his landlord a certain annual rent, was a freeman in condition, but attached to the soil. At an earlier period the Roman colonist enjoyed unrestricted liberty. Gradually, and almost imperceptibly, a change took place; the same term, *colonus,* was still employed, but it was used in a new and different sense. The colonist was no longer absolutely free; he could neither abandon his farm nor cease to cultivate it. Not even for a single day was he permitted to be absent from his holding.[1] Yet, legally, he was not a slave, though there was nothing to prevent a master's granting the privileges of a colonist to one of servile condition. The laws always clearly distinguished between the colonist and the slave. The former unlike the latter, enjoyed all the rights of a freeman. The fruits of his industry were absolutely at his disposal; his children inherited all he possessed; in the civil courts he could even give testimony against his master.[2] On one point only did he differ from the ordinary freeman; he must live on and cultivate his farm.

The disadvantages of this mode of tenure are at once apparent, yet it was not wholly without advantages. So long as his rent was paid the colonist could not be disturbed. The owner had no more right to evict him from his farm than he to leave. All the laws on the subject are explicit in affirming his rights as well as his obligations.

In two cases a member of a colony was emancipated, when he became a priest or a soldier; but even in these instances, the master's permission was a necessary pre-requisite.[3]

[1] Cod. Just., XI, 48, 15; Ut ne puncto quidem temporis debeant amoveri.
[2] Cod. Just., XI, 50, 1.
Cod. Just., I, 3, 16.

Should the proprietor sell his estate, the colonists were sold with it. The law thus secured the rights of the actual occupants and forbade the purchaser to establish new colonists to the prejudice of the old.[1]

Despite the many objections to which such a system was open, from a modern point of view, the tendency of imperial legislation was towards its extension. The laws of the fourth and fifth centuries show that the farmer who enjoyed unrestricted liberty to-day, became to-morrow a colonist attached to the soil. The freeman, decided the lawmaker, who for thirty successive years has cultivated a given portion of land, is no longer at liberty to abandon his farm.[2] Thus the mere lapse of time deprived a free colonist of a most important civil privilege.

Yet the interests of the colonists were by no means neglected by the Roman lawmaker. It does not indeed appear that the State ever intervened to reduce the amount of his rental, but it did intervene to prevent its being arbitrarily increased. "If a proprietor," says the law, "demand from a colonist more than has hitherto been the custom, that is, more than was required from his ancestors, let the colonist present himself before the nearest judge, and this judge shall not only forbid an increase of the customary rent, but, on the contrary, cause restitution to be made to the colonist of the amount wrongfully exacted."[3] The contract, then, imposed mutual obligations. Important rights were assured the colonist; the danger of rackrenting was eliminated. So long as the rent originally fixed was promptly paid there was nothing to fear. The farmer was free to improve his land in any way that seemed desirable without danger that the fruits of his labor would benefit the landlord rather than himself. Thus, the Roman legislator of the fourth century, more careful of the peasant's interests than the English Parliament of the nineteenth, foresaw and prevented the growth of an abuse which only now is disappearing in Ireland.

Such was the principal system of land tenure in the early Middle Ages. Like other landed proprietors, the Roman

[1] Ibid., XI, 63, 3.
[2] Cod. Just., XI, 48, 19 and 23.
[3] Cod. Just., XI, 50, 1. This law was made by Constantine the Great.

Church, on all its estates, had numerous colonists; how they lived and fared under her administration we shall now endeavor to see.

The most important document bearing on the subject is the forty-second epistle of Gregory the Great, addressed to the subdeacon Peter, Rector of the Sicilian patrimony. The scope of this letter is to lay down certain rules of administration, and the reform of existing abuses. Naturally, the details of the subject were known to his correspondent, and as we have no means of supplying these, conflicting theories are advanced on several material points. Avoiding, as far as possible, questions not yet satisfactorily settled, the general features of the system are sufficiently well determined for the present purpose.[1]

Speaking of the colonists, Gregory says that he has been informed of an injustice done them in the purchase of wheat. The Pope at this period was the Grand Almoner of Rome; the greater part of the city's inhabitants were maintained at the expense of the Church. Such being the case, it appears to have been customary to purchase yearly a certain quantity of wheat from the colonists of her patrimonies. The harvest of the season prior to the date of the Pope's letter, was unusually abundant, but the administrator of the patrimony failed to purchase the usual amount from the farmers, and thus left a large quantity of grain on their hands. Gregory ordered the Rector to buy the same amount in good as in bad years, and at the market price. Wheat being plentiful, the Pope's representative probably wished to economize by procuring a portion of the quantity required in Rome at a lower price than that paid to the colonists. In a year of scarcity, on the other hand, these would be obliged to supply the stipulated amount. Thus, the advantage would be always on the side of the purchaser. Gregory peremptorily ordered the discontinuance of the abuse.

Another grievance of the Church's Sicilian colonists was that, sometimes at least, they were compelled to assume the

[1] The most important works on this phase of the subject are those of F. de Coulanges, "Le Colonat Romain"; Savigny, "Ueber den Römischen Colonat"; Mommsen, "Die Bewirthschaftung der Kirchengüter unter Papst Gregor I"; Fabre, "Les Colons de l'Eglise Romaine," *Rev. de l'histoire et litt. rel.*, Vol. I, p. 74 sqq.

risks of transport. If the fleet, or any portion of it, should be wrecked on the way to its destination, the colonists had to bear the loss. This injustice was rectified at the expense of the purchaser. A third hardship connected with the payment of rents was corrected, and the Rector was further admonished to see that the weights employed, when these were received in kind, be accurate.

Besides the rent, the colonists were obliged to pay, three times a year, a tax to the State. This was collected on the first of September, January, and May. It sometimes happened that the poorer colonists found it difficult to meet the September payment, falling due at it did at a time when they had not yet disposed of the harvest. Taking this fact into consideration, Gregory proposed a remedy. Instead of borrowing money at usurious rates as hitherto, the Pope instructed his representative to pay the September tax for his farmers. Afterwards, these would reimburse the Church according as they were able. No pressure should be put upon them by the Rector; they were to pay him gradually, as the amount could be spared.[1]

One of the necessary concomitants of the Roman colonial system at this period had an imporant bearing on family life. Since the children of colonists were attached to the soil, by the same law binding their parents, they were in a sense the property of the landlord. Should, therefore, the son or daughter of a colonist be permitted to marry into the family of a colonist on another estate a loss would accrue to the owner of the first domain. As a consequence, such intermarriage was forbidden. A partial remedy for this restriction was adopted by Gregory. Colonists on an estate of the Church were permitted to marry anywhere within the *massa.* As these *massæ* were very large little difficulty would be experienced in finding a suitable partner. The fee ordinarily paid the conductor for the granting of such a permission was reduced to a golden solidus[2] for the well-to-do, a smaller sum sufficed for the poor.

Conductors.—Over the colonists were *conductores.* Their duty was to collect the rents in a determined part of the estate.

[1] Paulatim ut habuerint.
[2] About three dollars.

A conductor superintended a number of holdings forming what was known as a *conduma.* Though exercising a certain degree of authority over the colonists, conductors might be socially inferior. Slaves and freedmen were not infrequently employed by the Church as conductors.[1]

Conductors were appointed for a definite period, noted in the contract entered into between them and the proprietor or his representative. Apparently, up to the time of Gregory the Great, patrimonial rectors were allowed a degree of liberty in this matter which led to abuses. It became necessary for Gregory to forbid the frequent changes of this class of officials;[2] later on the right of concluding contracts was reserved to the Popes.[3]

To determine with accuracy the rights and obligations of a conductor is, owing to the want of documents, rather difficult. He appears to have been a sort of middleman, largely replacing the landlord, and acquiring most of his rights, during the period of his contract. In addition to the collection of rents, the *burdatio* or tax to the State, passed through his hands. He was not, however, an agent of the State but an intermediary. He leased for a certain time a given number of farms forming a *conduma,* and was consequently responsible to the Rector for the rents of the colonists. But, as we have seen, these rents once determined could not be changed. The source of the conductor's profits must consequently be sought either in a percentage allowed him as collector, or in certain privileges; probably in both. Though he leased the land of the *conduma* he did not work it directly. The colonists' position remained undisturbed.

Besides the ordinary rent charges and taxes, however, mention is made by Gregory the Great of other obligations, contracted by the colonist. These are termed *excepta, vilicilia,* and *commoda de nuptiis.* The last-named were the fees paid by colonists for permission to marry, and went to the conductor. We have seen above how Gregory regulated them by fixing a maximum. *Vilicilia* also were charged over and above the rental. In what they consisted seems impossible to deter-

[1] J–K, 956.
[2] Ep. I, 42.
[3] Lib. Diur, No. XXXIV.

mine; but since the conductor took the place of the proprietor, they probably formed part of his salary. *Excepta* were charges in kind also added to the rentals and at the disposal of the landlord.[1]

Emphyteusis.—In the course of time a new form of tenure replaced in a great measure that of *conductio.* This was emphyteusis. The difference between the two systems is considerable. Emphyteusis, in fact, was a sort of gift in disguise. Church property was inalienable. As a consequence, though administrators of enormous wealth, the Popes were powerless to transfer absolutely any portion of the Roman Church's patrimony to, for instance, a charitable institution. The remedy for this restriction was found by granting long leases at a merely nominal rent. In this manner the beneficiary succeeded to all the rights of the conductor, and, in addition, to those of the proprietor, less a small annual rental. Thus Gregory the Great gave in emphyteusis to a monastery in Blera a number of farms for thirty-six years.[2] Other Popes made similar grants for various terms, twenty-nine years;[3] for the life of the emphyteutist;[4] for the life of the emphyteutist, his children and grandchildren.[5]

Prior to the pontificate of Gregory the Great leases in emphyteusis were rarely conceded on the Church's patrimonies. In Sicily alone there were then four hundred conductors,[6] but few emphyteutists. Frequent requests were, however, forwarded to Gregory asking that leases of this kind be granted the petitioners. Few were conceded and these so restricted as to guard the interests of the Church. It was only after the death of the great Pope that concessions in emphyteusis became so common as to supplant almost entirely the old system of *conductio.*

Domuscultæ.—From a letter of Gregory the Great it is evident that in addition to the systems of agricultural exploitation thus far discussed, still another existed. Writing to the Sicilian Rector, Peter, the Pope says: "I desire that the studs

[1] Greg. M., Ep. IX, 78.
[2] J–K, 1621.
[3] J–K, 2011.
[4] J–K, 2013.
[5] J–K, 2197, 2198.
[6] Greg. M., Ep. II, 38.

of horses which we have been uselessly feeding be at once disposed of and only 400 of the younger ones kept for breeding." After giving directions as to how they should be distributed among the conductors of the island he adds: "It is hard that we should pay annually to keepers sixty solidi, when we do not derive from these studs sixty denarii."[1] In the same letter he thus comments on the qualities of certain live stock sent him by Peter: "You have sent us one wretched horse, and five good asses. I cannot use the horse because he is so wretched, nor the asses because asses. Therefore, if you wish to send anything; send something useful."[2]

The fact that the keepers in charge of the stud above mentioned were paid directly by the Rector indicates that some farms were directly cultivated by servants of the Church. However, in distant patrimonies, this was exceptional; and judging from the letter quoted, not very successful. In the vicinity of Rome, on the other hand, direct cultivation gradually became the rule. Through invasion, confiscation and emphyteusis the distant patrimonies of the Roman Church one after another were forever lost. The last cause, perhaps, operated even more than the others in extending the system of direct cultivation afterwards known as *domuscultæ*.

The author of the Liber Pontificalis in the life of Pope Zachary informs us that this Pontiff purchased two *massæ*, the Antian and Formian, and established them as *domuscultæ*.[3] Several other instances of similar establishments are recorded of this and subsequent Popes. The most important circumstance connected with their foundation is that Zachary prohibited their alienation from the Church under any pretext.[4] His object evidently was to eliminate the possibility of grants in emphyteusis. The revenues of these estates, whole and entire, should be secured to the Church. Thus, Pope Hadrian I "through apostolic privilege stated that, under pain of anathema," *domuscultæ* should forever remain the property of the Roman Church;[5] and in another place the same Pope,

[1] Ep. II, 38.

[2] Præterea unum nobis caballum miserum et quinque bonos asinos transmisisti. Caballum illum sedere non possum, quia miser est, illos autem bonos sedere non possum, quia asini sunt, etc.

[3] L. P., I, 435.

[4] Ibid., p. 434.

[5] Ibid., p. 502.

also under pain of anathema, prescribed that the produce of such estates be placed in granaries "for the use of Christ's poor." This last clause opens the way to an important part of our enquiry, viz: How were the great revenues expended which were derived from the immense estates of the Church in Italy and Gaul, Dalmatia and Illyria, Asia and Africa?

Expenditure of the Church's Revenues.—The maintenance of charitable institutions and the care of the poor on its numerous patrimonies, naturally absorbed no small part of the revenues. Taking into consideration the great extent of her estates one can easily see how far-reaching the Church's charitable organizations were, and how important from a social point of view to the inhabitants of Italy from the beginning of the fifth to the end of the eighth century. Plundered and ruined by a long succession of barbarian invaders, the task of maintaining multitudes of the destitute and homeless, in almost every part of the peninsula, was evidently not small. The city of Rome fared still worse at the hands of her conquerors.

After the transfer of the imperial capital from Rome to Constantinople the Pope was unquestionably the most important personage in the Eternal City. But to the advantages of his new situation must be joined, from the fifth century, the responsibilities of the Head of Christendom towards a ruined nation. How well the Popes responded to the needs of the times is universally recognized. The bishops who occupied the Chair of Peter during this period of invasion were, almost without exception, ideal pastors of Christ's flock.

From a homily of Gregory the Great preached when Rome was menaced by the Lombards an idea of the state of things at the end of the sixth century may be obtained. "On every side we see mourning, everywhere we hear groans," begins the Pope. "The cities are sacked, castles demolished, the country devastated, the land a desert. In the fields not a farmer (colonus) remains; the cities have scarce an inhabitant; the few surviving members of the human family are stricken daily and incessantly with woes; the scourges of God's justice continue because so many chatisements do not suffice for the expiation of our sins. Some we see dragged away to slavery, others mutilated, others slain. To what a low estate is that

Rome now fallen which once was mistress of the world; oppressed by bitter grief, despoiled of her citizens, assailed by enemies, a mass of ruins. In her is fulfilled all those things foretold by Ezechiel of Samaria. . . . Where is the senate, where the people? . . . All her earthly splendor has disappeared. The multitude of her inhabitants is scattered, and we few who remain are daily menaced with the sword and calamities without end."

Such was the terrible condition of Rome and the greater part of Italy, during the progress of the Lombard invasion. Making all due allowance for oratorical exaggeration the immediate prospect was grave, the future, as far as human eye could see, without hope. Yet, despite the sad state of affairs this same Pope who spoke so gloomily to his Roman congregation, never for a moment ceased during the fourteen years of his reign, in his endeavors to alleviate the general distress. A notion, though inadequate, of his watchfulness over the interests of his people throughout Italy may be had from the foregoing; his chief and immediate concern was with the inhabitants of Rome. In constant fear of the Lombard soldiers, never far away, the revenues of the Church's patrimonies were spent freely, purchasing immunity. "For twenty-seven years," wrote Gregory to the Empress Constantia, "we live in this city under the swords of the Lombards. I do not wish to enumerate the sums given daily to these by the Roman Church, in order that we may live among them. Briefly, I may say that as the Emperor has a treasurer in Ravenna for the first army of Italy, who defrays its ordinary expenses, so in similar circumstances, I am their treasurer (the Lombards') in this city. And yet, this Church, which, at the same time expends so much and unceasingly, for the clergy, the monasteries, the poor, the people and above all for the Lombards.[1] . . ."

The duchy of Rome was still nominally a portion of the fragmentary exarchate, but the resident imperial representative was powerless either to stay the invaders or to maintain its inhabitants. On the Pope also, nominally a subject of the Eastern Emperor, fell the burden of the most important civil responsibilities in addition to his cares as pastor of souls. In

[1] J-K, 1352.

the prosperous times of the empire the people of Rome depended on the Emperor for their daily rations. To work for his bread was beneath the dignity of the degenerate descendant of the old Romans. The subject nations of the empire were compelled to supply him with *panem et circenses,* bread and amusement. The Pope now supplied the bread; the barbarians an occupation far removed from amusement. Every day in the Lateran Palace distributions of food were made to the poor. Four times in the year the clergy and the numerous charitable institutions of Rome, received money portions from the revenues of the Church.[1] Deaconries were established in various parts of the city, primarily to minister to the wants of the indigent of a determined district.[2] Besides food, medicines were supplied to the sick; hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, and similar institutions were built and maintained by the Popes. Everything, in a word, that the numerous poor of Rome could require was supplied from the revenues of the Church's patrimonies. The Roman Church, according to the biographer of Gregory the Great, was like a granary open to all—the Pope was the father of the family of Christ.[3]

Another, and no small source of expenditure, owing to the Lombard wars, was the redemption of the prisoners. In this, as in all other charitable causes, Gregory the Great was unwearied. Writing to the Emperor's sister Theoctista he says: "Moreover, our beloved son, the deacon Sabinianus, has brought the thirty pounds of gold sent by your excellency for the ransom of captives and the relief of the poor. . . . The Almighty will return you heavenly things for earthly, eternal for temporal. I may tell you, however, that from the city of Cortona, situated in Italian territory on the Adriatic sea, and last year captured by the Lombards, many noble men and women were led away to imprisonment. Children were separated from their parents, . . . wives from their husbands, some of whom have already been ransomed. But because, as they say, the amount demanded is great, many are still in

[1] Vita S. Greg., II, 24.

[2] L. P., II, 1 sqq.

[3] Vita S. Greg. II, 26. Regarding the charity of the Roman Church Pope Martin I said in 654 at Constantinople: "Vos domini mei, nescitis Ecclesiam Romanam! Dico enim vobis quia quisquis venit illuc miserabilis homo hospitari, etc. P. L., XXXVII, 117.

the hands of the fierce Lombards. For their ransom I have already forwarded half the sum that you send. The other half I have disposed of to the handmaids of God whom in Greek you call monastria.'"[1]

The subdeacon Athemius residing at Naples received instructions on the same subject: "How great our grief for what has happened in Campania we are unable to express; but you can estimate it by the greatness of the calamity. By the bearer, the Magnificus Stephen, we have sent your *Experientia* money for the ransom of captives, admonishing you to be in every way solicitous and active in liberating free men whom you know to be unable to pay their own ransom. Slaves also whose masters are too poor to redeem them, do not hesitate to purchase. Take care likewise to ransom the slaves of the Church, who through your negligence have been lost."[2] Even the sacred vessels of the Church might be sold, if necessary, for purposes of ransom. "Although reprehensible and deserving of punishment," writes Gregory to the bishop Fortunatus, "to sell the sacred vessels, except in those cases where law and the sacred canons command, the disposal of them involves no reproof or penalty when sold for the redemption of captives."[3]

Nor were the activities of Gregory in this direction confined to Italy; we find him in 592 sending the priest Valerian to Africa for the purpose of redeeming and restoring to their homes prisoners sold as slaves in that country.[4]

Political Situation of the Pope.—In addition to the numerous privileges conceded to bishops by successive Christian Emperors, the law also assigned them an important rôle in civil affairs. The bishop of a city, with the *notabiles* or most important citizens, had the naming of the *defensor* and the *pater civitatis.* The bishop also, assisted by three citizens, superintended the administration of the public baths, the granaries, aqueducts and bridges. On the expiration of their term of office magistrates had to render him an account of the uses to

[1] Ep. Greg. M., VII, 23.
[2] Ep. VI, 32.
[3] Ep. VII, 13.
[4] Ep. III, 16.
[5] Cod. Just., I, 55, 8; Nov. 128, 16.

which the public money was applied.[1] The bishop was also the official protector of the poor, of prisoners and of slaves.[2]

In provincial affairs his authority was equally great. He had the right of surveillance over the official acts of the governor;[3] to visit prisons and examine cases in legislation, and wheresoever he found evidences of wrongdoing or injustice, the law charged him with the duty of "denouncing" it to the Emperor.[4] From an imperial magistrate there was always an appeal to the tribunal of the bishop.[5]

If the powers of bishops in general were so extensive, one can easily imagine how much greater were those exercised by the Popes. Their correspondence, in fact, and particularly that of Gregory the Great, shows how important the control, and how beneficial to the people at large, was the vigilance exercised by them over the rapacious Byzantine governors. In almost every province of Italy, as we have seen, the Church possessed patrimonies; their Rectors were diligent in reporting to Rome any misconduct on the part of civil officials.[6] At one time we see bishops demanding the support of the Pope against an unjust functionary;[7] at another a city or a corporation asks his protection. In some cases, Gregory reprimanded the guilty persons directly; more frequently, however, he reported them to their immediate chiefs—the duke to the exarch, the exarch himself to the Emperor.[8] An ex-consul was interdicted from interfering with certain privileges of the city of Naples;[9] the duke of Sardinia was reported to the exarch for oppression of the poor. No one appealed in vain to the watchful shepherd at Rome.

The vigilance thus exercised by the Pope was only in keeping with the powers conferred on him by law; but the deplorable conditions of the age made his further interference in civil matters a necessity.[10] His was the only authority that com-

---

[1] Nov. 128, C. 16.
[2] Cod. Just., I, 4, 26.
[3] Nov. 8, 14.
[4] Cod. Just., I, 4, 22.
[5] Nov. 6, 1 and 4.
[6] Ep. Greg. M., X, 17; VIII, 12, 9.
[7] Ep. I, 59.
[8] Ep. I, 59; V, 36.
[9] Ep. I, 59.
[10] Cf. Diehl, "Etudes sur l'administration Byzantine," p. 329 sqq.

manded general respect in the Peninsula. Byzantine officials were more solicitous of their personal interests than of those of the nation. No opportunity of enriching themselves at the expense of the Church or the people was lost; but in defending their frontiers against the Lombards the same zeal and ability were sadly deficient. Gregory the Great was called upon repeatedly to reprimand them or report their tyranny, while at the same moment fugitives from all parts of Italy were at the gates of Rome.[1] Milan was abandoned, Naples without defense;[2] yet the taxes imposed on the provinces composing the devastated exarchate were greater than could be paid in a period of prosperity. Under such conditions, "occupied incessantly with a flood of secular affairs," the Pope was compelled to think of the material as well as the spiritual interests of his flock. Sometimes, Gregory tells us, he scarcely knew whether he was a bishop or a temporal prince.[3]

The surprising activity of this great Pope under such circumstances is revealed in his letters. For the defence of Rome he became Commander-in-Chief. All imperial officers in the vicinity received his orders without question. He sent them reinforcements when these could be had; and on one occasion he arranged strategic movements against the duke of Spoleto.[4] To meet the expenses of the campaign he became treasurer. The income from his estates was spent freely in the defence of Rome, the redemption of captives, the paying of soldiers.[5] Without consulting the exarch he entered into negotiations for peace with Agilulf, the Lombard king.[6] He even appointed a tribune to the command of the garrison defending Naples, and addressed a letter to the soldiers exhorting them to obey their new chief.[7]

The correspondence of the Popes succeeding Gregory the Great, only a small portion of which now exists, shows that they also exercised authority in temporal affairs which increased

[1] Ep. V, 30.
[2] II, 45.
[3] Ep. I, 24.
[4] Ep. II, 7 and 32.
[5] Ep. V, 39.
[6] Ep. IV, 2.
[7] Ep. II, 34: Magnificum virum Constantium tribunum custodiæ civitatis deputavimus præesse.

from year to year. Yet their influence was unhesitatingly given for the maintenance of the status quo. Though they had little reason for desiring the continuance of Byzantine rule in Italy, and many weighty causes of complaint, the Popes remained loyal to the idea of a Christian World-Empire. At the very moment of the conquest of Italy, Pope Silverius was driven from Rome to exile and death. This was only the first in a series of persecutions carried out by the theologian-emperors of Constantinople. The Oriental Christians of that age acted as though they considered a day wasted that passed without the formulation of a new creed which they immediately endeavored to have generally adopted. To this end the Emperors' influence was indispensable, and only too frequently attainable. Still, in many instances, a certain degree of excuse for them must be admitted. Zeno's Henoticon, the Ecthesis of Heraclius, the Type of Constans II, were well-meant attempts to restore unity among the sects of the East. The mistake of these and other Emperors was in attempting to foist subtle formulas, savoring of error, on the always orthodox bishops of the West. These had affairs of more importance to engage their attention than the examination of the latest profession of faith from Constantinople. But when any attempt was made to coerce them into accepting formulas drawn up by the Emperor, aided by his obsequious chaplain, the Patriarch of New Rome, the Western bishops were as one man against the innovation.

Hence perpetual conflicts, in several of which Popes were violently dragged away to prison or death. Silverius and Vigilius, Pelagius and Martin, in succession, became the victims of imperial tyranny. But suddenly this state of things came to a stop. The Italians, at length aroused by circumstances to the necessity of being their own defenders, are seen organized as a mllitia. The *exercitus Romanus* has a word to say in the election of a Pope, a sword to draw in his defence. Justinian II, like his predecessors, pretends to make laws for the Church, and orders the Pope to accept them. Sergius I takes a different view and refuses. The Emperor, still following precedent, sends an officer, the proto-spatharius Zachary, to arrest and bring to Constantinople the presumptuous Pope,

who declines to admit the right of the basileus-pope to interfere in matters concerning the faith of Christians. No sooner does the news of the imperial officer's mission get noised abroad than the ominous change created by a new public spirit becomes apparent. The Italian soldier asks himself if he shall permit the benefactor and preserver of his country to be violently carried away by the minion of a tyrant. Shall the corrupt court of Byzantium, which, for a century or more, has oppressed him far more than the barbarian invader be still allowed to make the Defender of the Faith a spectacle for the rabble of Constantinople? His answer is prompt and practical. From Ravenna itself, the capital of the exarchate, and from Pentapolis, the *exercitus* hastens to Rome. The terrified Zachary is only saved from the soldier's vengeance by undignified retreat under the Pope's bed.[1]

This was the beginning of the end. Forty years later, in 727, Leo the Isaurian sent his edict against the use of images to Pope Gregory II, with orders for his deposition in the event of his daring to oppose the imperial will. Gregory responded by denouncing the edict and excommunicating the exarch. Again the soldiers rose in his defense; and the efforts of the imperial officers to carry out their instructions cost them their lives. A new exarch soon appeared with instructions similar to those of his predecessor. He began by destroying images, pillaging churches and punishing all who dared resist. Orders were sent to Rome to assassinate the Pope; they were disobeyed. Finally, in desperation, the exarch induced the Lombard King Liutprand to march with him against Rome, but Gregory's influence with the barbarian monarch was sufficiently powerful to detach him from the exarch who ended by placing himself under the protection of the Pope.[2]

Thus we see the power of the Pope in temporal matters becoming by degrees more important. Its origin may be traced to two causes: first, his prestige as Head of the Church and defender of orthodoxy; and second, his character of national benefactor. The Italian, like all other peoples of the West in that age, was passionately attached to his faith, which no civil

[1] L. P., I, 161.
[2] L. P., I, 184 sqq.

ruler had the right to tamper with. The Pope was the principal bulwark against the usurpations of the Emperor in this domain. In the next place the imperial authority, partly because of the never-ending religious dissensions in the East, was too weak to defend the Western provinces of the Empire against the Lombards. But, however low the fortunes of Rome, her people would not consent to be ruled by these barbarians.[1] The patrimonies of the Church, too, so long the source of the city's food supply, were seized with equal impartiality by Leo the Isaurian and the Lombards. In 733 the Emperor confiscated all the Church's estates in Sicily, Bruttium, Lucania, Calabria and Naples.[2] In the places occupied by the Lombards they were also lost. Restitutions were sometimes made by the latter after their conversion from Arianism, but soon repented of. Thus the patrimony in the Cottian Alps was restored by Aripert, but shortly afterwards, by the same king, confiscated anew. Liutprand was persuaded with difficulty by Gregory II to reinstate the rightful owner. This same Liutprand, a little later, seized other patrimonies of the Roman Church. No security remained for the inhabitants of Rome. Their very existence depended on the whim of avaricious barbarians. Where seek support? The Empire was unable to defend its subjects, and, when free from this necessity, it even oppressed and plundered them. The Lombards borrowed the latter part of the imperial program, and executed it faithfully. The only refuge left to the Romans and their spiritual as well as actual temporal head was to seek the aid of the friendly King of the Franks. Did Stephen III, even when he sought that aid, entertain the idea of establishing a civil principality of which he would be the natural ruler? This is a question on which unanimity of opinion does not exist. The conclusions of a writer who has made a close and able study of the problem are, that Stephen III sought the aid of Pepin in obedience to the instructions of the Emperor, and that he abandoned his defence of imperial interests only after the condemnation of the use of images by a synod held at Constantinople in 754.[3]

---

[1] Cfr. Duchesne, "Les Premiers Temps de l'état pontifical," p. 11.
[2] L. P., II, 42, note 10.
[3] Cfr. Bayet *Rev. Historique*, Vol. XX, p. 88 sqq.

The army of Pippin arrived in Italy towards the end of August, or the beginning of September, of this year; the synod was dissolved August 27, after anathematizing all who would continue the use of images. Thus the Pope was confronted with a grave problem. Through his influence, and his alone, the King of the Franks had been induced to support the tottering authority of the Empire in Italy. Yet, at the very moment of his return, he was greeted by the news that Constantine Copronymus, too feeble to fight the Lombards, had proved remarkably brave in combating images. His courtier bishops had just made laws condemning a custom dear to Western Christians, and Stephen after saving the Italian provinces to the Empire, would, as a recompense, be expected to receive and execute decrees coming from such a source, and with such a purport. Is it surprising, that in return for such ingratitude, not to speak of the religious principle at stake, he would at length break the bonds which so long united the Roman Church with the Roman Empire? The offer of Pippin was accepted and the State of St. Peter established in 754. This important event had more than one preparatory cause. Yet it may be said with truth that the numerous patrimonies of the Holy See were no small factor in bringing about a change in the political status of Italy, which had a far-reaching influence on the subsequent history of Europe.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS. I.

There is no page of our country's history in which pathos is so closely linked with romance, or religious heroism stands forth so prominently, as in the history of the settlement of New France. The French dominion, over a region of trackless forests stretching from Acadia to Wisconsin and from Hudson Bay to the Mississippi, is now a memory of the past. The hardy trapper, the daring explorer—that strange anomaly of courtly grace, boundless ambition, and reckless courage—and lastly the black-gowned missionary, with his pale face and attenuated form, passing as a shadow through the wilds, blessing, teaching, comforting, and dying—all these have gone. They helped to plant the seed of what was destined to be the superior civilization of modern times. The story of their courage and self-sacrifice will appeal to the imagination and awaken human interest, while men continue to love what is noble and brave.

In tracing the outline of this early period of our country's history, we are well supplied with sources of information, from which the historian, careful to consider light and shade, cause and effect, may produce an almost perfect picture. Although a few explorers like Champlain, Radisson, and Perrot have left us narratives of prime importance, we are indebted chiefly to the Jesuit missionaries for the greater part of our information.

I.

It was one of the principal duties of the Fathers to transmit to their Superiors in Quebec or Montreal an annual Report of their work, also to pay occasional visits to their Superior in order to consult him on affairs of their mission. This custom was inaugurated by the earliest missionaries of the Society of Jesus. St. Francis Xavier, at the very beginning of his career, emphasized the progress of his work and kept his fellow Jesuits in touch with his travels by these bulletins from the mission-field.

No motive of self-glorification can be ascribed to the heroic Apostle of India for thus attracting the attention of men to his labors; for he and the missionaries of North America, as their lives attest, sought not their own honor, but the edification of mankind and thereby the greater glory of God. We have yet the rule laid down by St. Francis Xavier which he wished the Jesuit missionary to follow in preparing a statement for general circulation.

Addressing Gaspard Barzé, who had been given charge of the mission at Ormuz, in India, he says: "You will send periodical letters to the college of Goa, wherein are set forth the various labors which you undertake to secure the increase of the divine glory, the methods which you follow out, and the spiritual results with which God crowns your feeble efforts."[1]

It must not be supposed that all the communications addressed to their Superior by the missionaries of New France were meant for publication. There were three classes of Jesuit Letters. First, there were the very intimate and personal ones addressed to the Superior, Provincial, or General, not meant for publication, therefore never published. The letters of the second class were destined for the perusal and encouragement of the members of the Society only; in the beginning they were transmitted in manuscript to the different houses of the Order. The Rule of the Society pertaining to this class of letters reads "Nemo in posterum cuivis externo, quavis occasione Societatis nostræ annuas (litteras) communicet sive ostendat."[2] These letters, however, seem later to have been published after having been carefully revised, corrected, and tranlated into Latin.

The third class of letters consists of those prepared by the missionaries for publication. The majority of the documents, if not all now in our control, can be placed in this class; and when we speak of the Jesuit Relations in the course of these pages, it is to these letters we refer. They constitute the public letters; under the head of private correspondence we must place the letters of the first two classes, of which we may say that we are almost entirely ignorant.

Father de Rochemonteix had access to this private corre-

[1] Rochemonteix, Introduction, I, p. viii, "Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France."
[2] "Regulæ Societatis Jesu," p. 583, Avignon, 1827.

spondence, much of which, but not all, still exists. Curiosity, like hope, springs eternal in the human breast, and no historian could be without a lively desire to inspect these documents. It is deplored by many that the Society of Jesus has not thrown its archives open to anxious scholars. Of course, the hostile critic sees in this secrecy additional proof of the so-called Jesuit craft, and regales himself with fancies of hidden sins that could not bear the light; but not a few scholars have come to regard the question differently, and surmise that these documents are rather personal intimate correspondence, probably of a spiritual nature; thus they need not concern, however much they may interest, the curious. We believe, however, that if circumstances permitted, the inspection of these documents might increase the value of the Relations we now possess. Being meant for private, rather than public use, their mode of expression might give a more decided coloring to facts, essentially true, indeed, as they stand, but which must be divested of certain restraints and accidents of object, purpose and end, before a basis of reality is reached. After all, this is the merest conjecture.

Thanks to Father de Rochemonteix, we know that, among other things, these private papers treated of certain delicate questions like the actions of governors, disputes between the orders, the sale of brandy to the savages, etc.[3] Until we have further knowledge of the nature of these letters, we must give our attention to the Relations at hand, of whose number and importance no one can complain.

The first Jesuit missionaries to come to New France were Pierre Biard and Ennemond Massé. They arrived at Port Royal in Acadia (Nova Scotia) June 12, 1611. With them began the series of Jesuit Relations, which continued with few interruptions to be sent yearly to the Provincial in France and the General at Rome. But the publication of the Relations did not take place until the year 1632. In that year the Provincial at Paris issued, not the earlier letters of Biard, Masse, and other pioneers, but the "Bréves Relations du Voyage de la Nouvelle France" of Father Paul Le Jeune. Thereafter a duodecimo volume neatly printed and bound in vellum, came annually

[3] Rochemonteix, Vol. I, introduction, p. xiv.

from the press of Sébastien Cramoisy at Paris until the year 1673.

It has been said that their publication was discontinued owing to the opposition of Frontenac, to whom the Jesuits were distasteful.[4] Father de Rochemonteix gives the following reason for their suppression. On April 6, 1673, Pope Clement X, by the brief *Creditæ* forbade the publication of all books and writings about foreign missions "sine licentia in scriptis congregationis eorumdum cardinalium,"[5] *i. e.*, without the written permission of the Propaganda. This interrupted the publication, but the preparation of the manuscript went on as usual. Between the year 1632 and 1673 there had been issued forty one volumes, which are technically known to collectors as "Cramoisys."

With the exception of the Jesuit histories into which the Relations were incorporated, contemporary literature seems to have given little attention to these publications. Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, first called attention to their historical value, when he declared that, "No historian can enter fully into an investigation of the circumstances attendant on the first settlement of this country, without being conversant with the Relations."[6] This paper, besides attempting biographies of the authors of the Relations, contained a catalogue raisonnée and a table showing what volumes were in this country and in Canada, and where they could be found.

In the year 1850, a French translation of Dr. O'Callaghan's paper was published in Montreal by Rev. Félix Martin, S.J., Superior of the Jesuits in Canada. Father Martin had found a catalogue of old manuscripts among the archives of the Jesuits at Rome, and also two Relations published privately after the suppression of 1673. With these manuscripts in hand, he carried the history of the Canadian Missions back to the year 1611. Fragments of other manuscripts have also been found at Rome and these with later finds at Quebec and Montreal, extend the Relations to the year 1679. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, especially

[4] Reuben Gold Thwaites, Introduction to "Jesuit Relations," I, p. 40.
[5] Rochemonteix, "Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France," Introduction, I, p. xliv.
[6] Vid. N. Y. Historical Society Publications, 1847.

in his "History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian tribes of the United States," added his authority to that of O'Callaghan; consequently collectors now began to search for other manuscripts of the Relations.

The first reprint from the original Cramoisy series, together with the independent manuscripts, appeared in 1858 under the auspices of the Canadian government. The work was ably edited by the Abbés Laverdière, Plante and Ferland in three volumes with biographical notes, synopses and some additions. This first reprint, now become very rare, contained Relations of the years from 1611 to 1672. Two supplemental and complemental issues of allied and later Relations were published, one by Dr. Shea, and the other by Dr. O'Callaghan.

The Shea series (1857–1866) numbered twenty-five volumes, and contained mostly new matter consisting of Relations prepared for publication by the Superiors after 1672 and miscellaneously printed.[7] Dr. O'Callaghan's edition consists of seven volumes of hitherto unpublished material.

In 1867, Father Carayon, S.J., published in Paris his work, "Première Mission des Jesuites au Canada." This work and "Le Journal des Jesuites," edited in 1871 by the Abbés Laverdière and Casgrain, have increased the collection of letters. Another work, of which only a small portion is devoted to the North American Indians, must not be omitted. I refer to the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses écrites des Missions Etrangères," thirty-four volumes referring to Jesuit Missions in many lands between 1702 and 1776.[8]

I have given this brief account of the source of our knowledge of New France and its settlement, not only to give some idea of the vast amount of correspondence carried on by the missionaries, but also to show how scattered until lately were these primary sources of information, and how difficult it has been in the past for scholars to procure and use them. To the ordinary student, as can readily be seen, they were inaccessible. But in the year 1896 began the publication of these documents

[7] For a complete list of Shea's series cf. Justin Winsor, "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. IV, p. 295, sqq.

[8] Bishop W. I. Kipp in "Early Jesuit Missions in North America," Albany, 1866 (last edition), has translated into English the account of the Jesuit trials contained in these "Lettres Edifiantes."

in a form that may be said to have placed them within the reach of all. All the documents to be printed have appeared, including two volumes of an exhaustive index. The work was finished in 1901.[9]

The great amount of care and labor expended on this edition appears in the fact that it contains, not only the original Cramoisys, together with the new Letters edited by Shea, and O'Callaghan, Martin, Carayon, the "Lettres Edifiantes," and the "Journal des Jesuites," but also hitherto unpublished material from manuscripts found in the Archives of St. Mary's College at Montreal, and other depositaries. Accompanying these documents are faithful reproductions of all the maps, and other engravings appearing in the older editions. A prominent feature of this work is the collection of authentic portraits of many of the missionaries, and photographic fac-similes of pages from their manuscript letters. To each volume is prefixed a preface containing valuable biographical data, while appended notes afford historical, biographical, archæological and miscellaneous information; these notes lend a scholarly tone and an academic value to the series. Nine thousand octavo pages of text, with as many more of translation, are devoted to this story of the Jesuit missionaries in North America.[10]

We do not need to remind our readers that long since the Relations have been used extensively by scholars in narrating the facts concerning the early settlement of our country. Only, the difficulties in the way of a thorough examination of their contents have been so many that the results obtained were always more or less unsatisfactory. This state of affairs no longer exists, thanks to the work of Mr. Thwaites.

In the present paper, these documents are made the basis of a study of the Indian religions that came under the notice of the Jesuits in New France. The aim is not to collect everything mentioned by the Relations concerning the question,

[9] The full title of this monumental work is as follows: "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791. The Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes; Illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Facsimiles." Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Cleveland, Burrows Brothers, 1896–1901, Vols. I–LXXVI.

[10] Cf. *American Historical Review*, October, 1901, "The Jesuit Relations," by Chas. W. Colby.

ST. BASIL'S SEMINARY LIBRARY

but rather to emphasize some of the more important religious ideas of the North American savages, and by the careful selection and comparison of the testimonies of the missionaries, to produce in outline a synthesis of Indian belief in the supernatural.

II.

It is necessary, first of all, that we give the names of the Indian Tribes of whom we are to treat. Owing to the tendency of the Indians toward a nomadic life, the tribes and nations were always in a condition of instability and change. Long before Europeans came to America, a constant affiliation of tribes by intermarriage, by consolidation of parts of or even of whole conquered nations with the conquerors, had left the tribes in such a state, that it has always been impossible to fix the tribal boundaries with any degree of exactness.[11]

When Jacques Cartier came to Montreal in 1535, he found a numerous population in possession; but we know that at the opening of the next century these people had disappeared, and were succeeded by another race, widely different in language and customs.[12] Scholars conclude to-day that it is only on philological grounds that a division can be made at all, and even when this division is made it must needs be a general one.[13] We will follow such a division in our study, not taking each clan, and giving its belief and practice in order, but rather exposing the concept which seems common to all clans of a tribe, mentioning as far as possible the names of the tribe or tribes holding a particular superstition. This is to avoid unnecessary repetition, which the similarity of the superstitions and myths of the clans would otherwise render inevitable.

With the Southern Indians, occupying the country between the Tennessee River and the Gulf, the Appalachian Ranges and the Mississippi, our Relations have very little to do. The Natchez of Louisiana, while not overlooked, do not play an important part in the present study; for the missionaries have devoted but a small space to an account of their religious rites and ceremonies. Of the Winnebagoes, a branch of the Da-

[11] Thwaites, Introduction "Jesuit Relations," Vol. I, p. 9.
[12] Parkman, "The Jesuits of North America," Introduction, p. i, Boston, 1867.
[13] Thwaites, loc. cit., p. 9.

kotah or Sioux, among whom the Jesuits labored, and who resided at the time of the French occupation about Green Bay on Lake Michigan, we will treat here only briefly.

The peoples chiefly dealt with in this paper are the Algonkins, the Hurons, and the Iroquois. The Algonkins were the more numerous, occupying the greater portion of New France, from the "debateable" land of Kentucky northward to Hudson Bay, and from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi. It is probable that at no time did they number over 90,000 souls, possibly never more than 50,000.[14] The chief Algonkin tribes that came under Jesuit influence were the following: the Abenakis and Etchemins of Eastern Maine and New Brunswick; the Souriquois or Micmacs of Nova Scotia; between the St. Lawrence and the Hudson Bay, the Papinachois, Bethsamites and others included by the French under the general name of Montagnais; the Ottawas, Chippewas, Mascoutens, Sacs, Foxes, Pottawattomies, and the Illinois of the Upper Lakes; and around Lake St. John the tribes called Nation du Porc-Epic and Attigamégues.

This great Algonkin family plays a most important part in early American history, because through their influence the French and English secured a strong foothold on our soil. They were an intensely warlike people, and their history abounds in great men. Under King Philip they waged bloody and relentless warfare against the Puritan; at the instigation of Pontiac they doomed to death every white trespasser on their domain; led by Tecumseh and Black Hawk they emerged from mountain and forest to decide in pitched battles the supremacy of the Mississippi.[15] To their tribe also belonged " the Indian girl Pocahontas, who in the legend averted from the head of the white man the blow which rebounding swept away her father and all his tribe."[16] But fierce and warlike as was this group, they were more genial than were the Iroquois, by whom they were surrounded, and by whom they were constantly harassed, and finally almost exterminated.

The five principal Iroquois tribes were the Mohawks,

[14] Thwaites, Introduction to " Jesuit Relations," Vol. I, p. 10.

[15] Cf. " The Myths of the New World," by Daniel G. Brinton, 3d ed. (1896), p. 28.

[16] Ibid.

Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. This was a people, courageous and cruel, but of rare political sagacity. Their palisaded villages extended through central New York from the Hudson to the Genessee, south and east of Lakes Erie and Ontario; a geographical situation commanding as it did the waterways connecting the Great Lakes with the Hudson and Ohio Rivers, which easily lent itself to their schemes for the subjugation of the neighboring tribes. Their organization and history are the best proof of Parkman's statement, that they were examples of the "highest elevation which man can reach without emerging from the primitive condition of hunter."

Historians have been seeking reasons for the failure of French colonization in the New World. "It has been suggested that the abandonment of America was the result of a profound French policy exercised with a view to effect the abasement of the traditional rival and enemy of France; that France foresaw that her retirement would give the colonists an opportunity to strike for independence, while England's contemporary aggrandizement would be followed by the utter humiliation of a dismemberment of her empire."[17] Less complimentary to French astuteness and foresight, but nearer the truth, is the opinion that the overthrow of French domination on the eastern shores of America was brought about primarily through the hostility and implacable hatred of the Iroquois.[18]

The seeds of failure were planted when the founders of New France cultivated the exclusive friendship of the Hurons and Algonkins, and by making war on the Iroquois alienated from themselves these "Romans of the New World." The latter, though not over 17,000[19] in number, became by their aggressiveness the scourge of both Indian and white. They were revengeful and merciless, and the missionaries met in them their greatest opponents; but admidst tortures, suffering and death, the "Fathers" were undaunted, and although they did not succeed in making a great number of converts among these people, they have won for themselves our lasting gratitude, by preserving for us their studies on the worship of the Iroquois.

[17] Encyc. Britt., article by Benson J. Lossing, s. v. "United States."

[18] Thwaites, Introduction to "Jesuit Relations," Vol. I, p. 11, and Parkman, "Jesuits in North America," p. 447.

[19] This number is at best but probable, not fixed.

The Jesuits planted their earliest missions among the Hurons. Known also as Wyandots, these Indians were allied in origin and language to the Iroquois. Generally they were at war with them and were finally almost annihilated during the period of the Jesuit missions. They numbered between 12,000 and 16,000 souls, and occupied a fairly well cultivated stretch of country between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay on Lake Huron. Southwest of the Hurons were the Tionontates, called also Petuns, or Tobacco Nation, who were allies of the Hurons, among whom we venture to class them for the purposes of our study. It was among the Hurons that the principal Jesuit Mission in the history of New France was established. These people were intelligent, and at first docile; henc, the Jesuits thought them more especially fitted for the acceptance of Christianity than the rude and nomadic Algonkins, or the unbridled Iroquois. But while at first they seemed friendly to the missionaries, their savagery and superstition soon awakened in them the seeds of opposition and hatred. The efforts of Father Brebeuf, Lallemant, Jogues and others were not crowned with the success at first expected, and the story of their labors and sufferings among these people, recounted with all modesty in the Relations, is almost unparalleled in history.

Close contact and communication with the Algonkin, Huron and Iroquois tribes gave the Jesuits unequalled opportunities to observe and study at close range the religious beliefs of these savage peoples. Being men of trained intellect, the authors of the Relations recorded their observations with a clearness of expression and a simplicity of style, surprising under the circumstances. Only here and there does any crudity appear in the narratives, which were often written in the midst of squalor and degradation, in suffering and persecution, or when their authors were tired and worn by hunger and exposure.

In passing judgment on the value of the Relations, these circumstances of their actual composition must not be disregarded. The object and the end for which they were written must likewise be considered and given full weight by the critic. Here we shall not expect to find the well balanced history, the ex-

professo treatment, the joining of cause and effect; here can be looked for no attempt to explain and analyze social conditions, or to lift the veil that hides the future. These men were students of the soul, occupied with the things of God; they used those facts and conditions of this world with which the historian concerns himself only in so far as they aided in the regeneration of the souls that they had come so far and suffered so much to save.

It is true that being students and men of thought, they could not fail to give their opinions and judgments on the strange conditions in which they found themselves, but this only secondarily, and in as much as it added to and was bound up with their main object. Thus, for instance, the physical aspects of the territory, which they explored from Acadia to Wisconsin, and from Hudson Bay to the Mississippi, assumed for them the proportions of a problem that had to be solved, a difficulty to be overcome, in spreading Christ's Gospel. For this end they studied this region, and prepared their maps, thinking of the scientific value of their work, if they ever did think of it, only as something subservient to the spiritual victories that were to crown their labors.

Their appreciation of the character of the native Indians must be studied in the same way. Are we to accept Parkman's view, that it is impossible to exaggerate their value as an authority for the condition and character of the primitive inhabitants of America,[20] or are we justified in going to the other extreme, and holding that the Jesuits never understood the Indian's life, ambitions, or affections, because their training and experience had been such as to put them at a wrong focus, so that the subtler and nobler traits of the Indian character came to them broken and distorted through the prism of their European prejudices?

Certainly the ideal Red Man, the hero of the romantic fiction of Cooper, does not appear in the Relations. In his stead, we have a more commonplace, squalid, dirty, cruel, licentious, and more often animal-like being, that repels and disgusts. If we allow for the natural tendency of these men, refined, cultured, and saintly as they were, to give vigorous expression to their

[20] Parkman, op. cit., preface, p. vi.

horror for the degradation of the Indian, we see no reason to reverse Parkman's opinion of their reliability.

We must not look in the Relations for an account of the Indians, which shall be, from an ethnological and anthropological point of view, scientifically correct. To-day, our knowledge of the Indian is necessarily clearer, in this respect, than was that of the missionaries, whose minds were affected by the scientific fallacies of the time. "But with what is known to-day, the photographic reports in the Relations help the student to an accurate picture of the untamed aborigine, and much that mystified the Fathers is now, by the aid of their careful journals, easily susceptible of explanation."[21]

Some of those who remember that the Relations were written with a set purpose, and must necessarily leave much unsaid, ask if these omissions ever constituted a "suppressio veri," or even amount to a downright misrepresentation of facts. The most important alleged perversion of facts brought against the missionaries is, that they exaggerated the number of their converts. Thus, M. Sulte, author of a "Histoire des Canadiens Français, 1608–1880," says that one of his friends has calculated that the Jesuit Relations mention sixty thousand conversions among the Hurons, although at the time of their greatest power, these people never exceeded ten thousand.[22] A strong feeling of dislike may be said to have inspired this charge. Personal bias has robbed it of the weight which it might otherwise have had. No impartial student doubts for an instant to-day, the absolute sincerity and honesty of these heroic missionaries. Even if such an exaggeration were clearly proved, when we consider the circumstances fully, we could easily pardon a miscalculation written in the best of faith. It is by no means a settled fact that the Hurons never exceeded 10,000 souls. To fix so absolutely the number of people, who even now are only distinguished from their neighbors by philological differences, apparent only to the trained scholar, might be excusable in the missionaries; but in M. Sulte the same mistake cannot be so easily condoned. But the missionaries were not

[21] Thwaites, Introduction to "Jesuit Relations," Vol. I, pp. 40 and 41.

[22] "Réponse aux Critiques," p. 3. A pamphlet dated July 1, 1883, and quoted by Mr. C. W. Colby in *American Historical Review*, October, 1901.

agreed even on the numbers of the population of the Huron tribe. Lallemant at one time says there were 30,000 souls which were reduced to 10,000 by disease and other drains,[23] while at another time he gives 12,000 as the number.[24] Later he writes that there were between 10,000 and 20,000 Huron Indians.[25] Father Claude Dablon far exceeds in his reckoning any of the estimates given by the other missionaries. He says that, in the country of the Hurons the population was more than 60,000. But he hastens to add that in this number are included the people of the Neutral and Tobacco nations.[26] Father Le Jeune thought there were 30,000,[27] and Brebeuf agreed with this estimate,[28] while Le Mercier,[29] Druillettes[30] and Etienne de Girault[31] placed the number between 30,000 and 35,000. This indefinite idea of the Huron population is evidently due to the fact, that the Jesuits, like modern scholars, realized the difficulty of fixing the outline of this constantly changing people. Because of this confusion, nothing was easier for the missionaries than to class among these people clans really distinct; thus, when speaking of their Huron converts they would include Indians of neighboring tribes who were in constant communication with, and often sojourned among, them for extended periods. It is then altogether arbitrary for M. Sulte to assume for the Huron tribes a fixed number, and upon finding that this number is only one-sixth of the amount of Huron converts, impugn the veracity of the Relations. Even if he himself could prove that the Jesuits claimed such a number of converts; if he had not depended on "one of his friends" for his calculation, which was made in some mysterious manner known only to M. Sulte and his "friend": even then this evidence would only prove that the missionaries had unintentionally made a mistake easily explained under the circumstances. We have no reason to believe, however, that the Jesuits claimed this enormous amount of converts

[23] Relation 1639–40, ed. "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 17, p. 223.
[24] Relation 1640, Vol. 19, p. 127.
[25] Relation 1645–6, Vol. 28, p. 67.
[26] Relation 1671–72, Vol. 56, p. 267.
[27] Relation 1634, Vol. 6, p. 59.
[28] Relation 1635, Vol. 8, p. 115.
[29] Relation 1652–3, Vol. 40, p. 223.
[30] Relation 1657–8, Vol. 44, p. 249.
[31] "A History of the Years 1747 to 1764," Vol. 70, p. 205.

among the Huron tribes, or anything approaching such a number. The general expression of the Relations, on the contrary, is evidence that they deplored the lack of converts.[32] Father Garnier mentions two villages in which there were many Christians,[33] and Father Bressani claimed that "it would require a whole book to relate here the rare and remarkable conversions which occurred in the space of sixteen years,"[34] but neither of these, it is unnecessary to say, believed that even a great part of the Huron Nation was converted. We have a letter written by Father La Richardie (June 21, 1741), which states that "not even one person in the whole nation remained obdurate."[35] This does not mean that the entire Huron family had been converted to the Catholic faith; for, as was well known both to the writer, and to him to whom the letter was sent, the Huron nation on being expelled from their country by the Iroquois in 1650, split into a number of bands. One of these groups went with Cadillac when he founded Detroit in 1701, and settled near that town. "They remained without a missionary until 1728 when La Richardie was sent to them."[36] How M. Sulte's "friend" evolved his conclusion may be very interesting, but since it is not born out by fact, it should be valued at its real worth. This attempt "to poison the wells," is not an isolated one, but finds many a counterpart, from Arnauld to a recent writer in one of our magazines.[37] The latter tells us that: "It is not enough to urge as Father Rochemonteix does, the high character of their authors. A long experience proves the willingness of the Religious to cut sharp corners when the interests of their order or of their cause are at stake. Whether it be called self-deception, or whether one harbors the design of conveying the wrong impression, the result is the same." Such assertions founded in many cases on dislike or prejudice, have not deterred scholars from appreciating highly the value and reliability of the Relations. Bancroft and Sparks in using them impartially have stamped upon them the seal of their approval. Parkman's words

[32] Cf. Relation 1642–43, of Barthélémy Vimont, Vol. 25, p. 48.
[33] Relation 1642–44, Vol. 25, p. 85.
[34] Relation 1633, Vol. 39, p. 143.
[35] Relation, Vol. 69, p. 53.
[36] Relation, Vol. 69, p. 285 (note by Thwaites).
[37] C. W. Colby, *American Historical Review*, "The Jesuit Relations."

are proof that he held them in high esteem. He says: "The closest examination has left me no doubt that these missionaries wrote in perfect good faith, and that the relations hold a high place as authentic and trustworthy documents."[38] The works of Dr. Shea and Dr. O'Callaghan bear similar evidence to the reliability of the Relations.

With such testimony as this we can enter upon the study of the religions of the Indian tribes, confident that in the Relations we have not only the most available but very probably the most reliable sources of information.

III.

The religion of the Indians appeared at first as something very vague, and indefinite to the Jesuit missionaries. This is not surprising, for they came speaking a new language, with centuries of civilization and culture behind them, to a rude people of whom they knew almost nothing; in addition to the material hardships of their surroundings, they had to contend with the characteristic taciturnity and secretiveness of the Indian.

Father Jouvency, one of the earlier missionaries, was much impressed with what he considered the vagueness of the Indian religion. He said they believed that "some deity exists, but with no definite character or regular code of worship."[39] This lack of a system of worship, however, never led the missionaries to believe that the Indians were without some concept of deity. "They have no form of divine worship, nor any kind of prayers. They believe, however, that there is one who made all, but they do not render him any homage."[40]

While denying the existence of a definite form of worship among the Indians, we must not suppose that the Jesuits overlooked the more salient features of the Indian cults, some of which they described, even while affirming the absence of religious forms. This apparent contradiction disappears when we remember that the missionaries used their own religious concept as a norm.

---

[38] Parkman, op. cit., preface, p. vi.

[39] Relation 1610–1613, Vol. 1, p. 287.

[40] "Relations," Vol. 4, p. 203. This is a statement of Father Lallemant concerning the Indians he met at Quebec. He mentions no particular tribe.

To men who had lived among a people, where religion was highly developed in dogma and ritual, and had penetrated even into the statecraft of the country, the rude attempts of the savages to worship their gods could easily appear as no religion at all. We must be prepared to meet this prejudice.

When they first came to New France, their ignorance of the Indian language, character, and customs prevented the missionaries from acquiring a satisfactory knowledge of Indian belief. They classed all the practices that came under their notice as superstitions, tricks, and devil-worship.[41] It is in their narrations of these "superstitions" that they have given us the great mass of facts from which we shall try to outline the idea of God among the Hurons, Algonkins, and Iroquois peoples.

All the relations testify to the existence among all these tribes of a belief in a multitude of superior beings, who ruled the destinies of men, conferred material rewards upon the brave in this life and in the next, and could be conciliated by prayer and sacrifice. These beings were called *Manitous* by the Algonkins, and *Okis* by the Hurons and Iroquois. They applied these names to all natures superior to man. Father Le Jeune's testimony on this point concerning the belief of the Algonkins and kindred tribes is applicable to all. He tells us, that when he told them of God and the Devil, the Indians declared that God was the good Manitou and the Devil the bad Manitou.[42]

This gave rise to the idea in the minds of the missionaries, of a dualistic principle of good and evil in the Indian belief. The good Manitou made the land, produced the animals, and all other things for the benefit of the Indian.[43] "They (the Montagnais) recognize (also) a Manitou, whom we may call the Devil. They regard him as the origin of evil; it is true, they do not attribute great malice to the Manitou, but to his wife, who is a real she-devil. The husband does not hate men. He is only present in wars and combats, and all those whom he looks upon are protected, the others are killed. As to the

[41] "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 2, p. 75. Father Biard in Relations of 1612 and 1611–1616, Vol. 3, p. 131.
[42] Relation 1637, Vol. 12, p. 7.
[43] Le Jeune, Relation 1636, Vol. 9, p. 125.

wife of the Manitou, she is the cause of all diseases which are in the world: she feeds upon their flesh, gnawing them upon the inside, which causes them to become emaciated in their illness. She has a robe made of the most beautiful hair of the men and women whom she has killed; she sometimes appears like a fire; she can be heard roaring like a flame, but her language cannot be understood."[44]

Father Jouvency, an earlier missionary, says "this evil Manitou was the enemy of the human race, who exhorts from some people divine honors and sacrifices."[45] Since this Manitou was so powerful, it was natural that fear should prompt the Indians to conciliate, and win his or her favor by sacrifices and offerings. The missionaries saw here a species of devil-worship, but that there really was such a worship is improbable. The Indian's evil Manitou, on the evidence of the Jesuits themselves, does not seem to correspond to the Christian idea of the devil, and hence must be qualified. It is true, that the tribes always applied the term *good* to the Manitou, who favored them, and *evil* to the hostile spirit, but it must not be supposed that they considered them as two distinct personalities, eternally opposed in constant warfare.

There was no spirit among them thought to be continually *good,* and likewise none was supposed to be unalterably *evil.*[46] At times it would seem that both happiness and misfortune are ascribed to a single personality. Thus the "Master of Life," who was generally considered good by all the tribes, is called at one time *Manitou* without any qualification,[47] while among the Montagnais, we find the Spirit who caused death designated by the same unqualified title.[48] We should not, however, insist too much on this identity of person, for though at times there seems to be a mutual participation of qualities, the evidence is too uncertain to prove that they united the good and evil Manitous in one person.

As we have already seen, Father Le Jeune, in his Relation of 1634, gives evidence that among the Montagnais the wife of

[44] Relation 1634, Vol. 6, pp. 115 and 175.
[45] Vol. 1, p. 287, Relation 1613.
[46] Cf. Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 75 et sqq.
[47] Relation 1637, Vol. 11, p. 113.
[48] Relation 1702–12, Vol. 66, p. 235.

the Manitou is regarded as the "evil spirit." This does away with their identity among these people, who could not have confounded the Manitou with his wife. However, even admitting that the Indians considered certain spirits as unfavorable, we should not call these spirits devils, as did the missionaries. Their idea of the wicked Manitou was totally different from the Christian notion of evil spirits, and though they afterwards came to use the word "evil" in connection with the Manitou, they never believed this Manitou was totally evil. Wrathful and vengeful this spirit could be and usually was, but in all cases the capability and actual accomplishment of good are always in evidence. Thus among the Algonkins, the wicked wife of the Manitou appears as the enemy of men.[49] She is hated by a mythical being who, although strongly tempted to kill her, is loath to do so, for the Sun is her heart, and her death would bring eternal night upon the earth. "Sometimes, the man getting angry with her, threatens her with death, her heart trembles, and grows feeble, and it is at such a time, they say, that we see the sun eclipsed."[50]

This wicked wife of the Manitou causes death, but her heart, being the sun, is kind and good, for the Indians believed that the Sun, which shone on the fields and made the maize, was a benignant deity.

Since this wicked Manitou was considered beneficent in some respects, it cannot be said that in offering sacrifices to her, they did so to honor her inasmuch she was evil. They sought rather to appeal to the better side of her nature, and their prayers and sacrifices were made with this object in view. These sacrifices appeared abominable to the Jesuits, who thought that only the devil could inspire them, hence their firm conviction that the Indians worshipped the devil. Their frequent use of the word "devil" in connection with the "Evil Manitou" had the effect of supplying the Indians with a new appellation for this deity. Thus, when Le Jeune told the Montagnais, that he was not afraid of the devil, and if they believed in God, the devil would flee from them, they expressed great astonishment; and, he says, that they threw some eels

[49] Relation 1637, of Father Le Jeune, Vol. 12, p. 311.
[50] Ibid.

into the fire. He asked them the meaning of this. "Keep still," they replied, "we are giving the devil something to eat, so that he will not harm us.[51] Here it is quite evident that the Indians borrowed the term without understanding its Christian meaning.

The number of Manitous among the Algonkins, and Okis among the Hurons and Iroquois, was unlimited. According to Le Jeune, the word Manitou signified anything "above human nature";[52] hence all their deities were designated by this generic name. These beings were sometimes benignant, sometimes malevolent; some were localized in streams, rocks, mountains, or the sky, while others had but vague, indefinite attributes, and were attached to no definite locality.

Each Indian had its tutelary Manitou or Oki which he honored and "loved as his own body."[53] He came into possession of this guardian spirit by means of revelation made to him in dreams. Father Rale, speaking of the Ottawas, tells us how these revelations were made.[54] "When a savage wishes to take to himself a Manitou, the first animal that appears to his imagination during sleep is generally the one upon which his choice falls. He kills an animal of the kind, and puts its skin —or its feathers, if it be a bird—in the most conspicuous part of his cabin; he makes a feast in its honor, during which he addresses it in the most respectful terms and, thereafter, this is recognized as his Manitou."

Every man or woman might possess such a spirit. The material object whose form the spirit assumed, became at once the emblem of the Manitou, was pictured on the Indian's shield and other weapons, was tatooed on his body, and at times became his designation. In some cases the Manitou was chosen when the child was ten years of age, in others the choice was made at the beginning of manhood and womanhood; in all cases the dream was preceded and superinduced by a fast. In this way the Indians felt they were always under the care of their Manitous. But the union between the spirit-world and men was more pronounced in some cases than in others. Father

[51] Relation 1634, Vol. 7, p. 87.
[52] Relation 1633, Vol. 5, p. 257.
[53] Relation 1642–43, Vol. 24, p. 251.
[54] Relation 1726, Vol. 67, pp. 159–161.

Paul Ragueneau says the Hurons[55] believe, that some more enlightened than the common obtained such piercing sight that they see wonders in the future. They say this piercing sight is given them by an Oki, a powerful genius who enters their bodies or who appears to them in their dreams, or immediately on their awakening, and shows them these wonders. Some say that the genius appears to them in the form of an eagle; others say they "see him in that of a raven and in a thousand other shapes, each according to his fancy." Although all do not receive this gift of "piercing sight" in their dreams, some benefit always results from these "visions of the night." Besides securing the protection of the powerful deity who thus manifests himself to them, they believe that success in their hunting and power over their enemies are now assured to them.[56]

The Manitou or Oki, which each Indian sees in his sleep, may appear as an animal or even as an inanimate object, This animal or object was called by the Indian his totem.[57] Besides this personal or individual totem there were also sex and clan totems. How the totem came to be attached to a particular sex or clan the Relations do not inform us. It may be that the totem of some chief was transferred to the clan or that the totems of a majority, or even of a great number of the tribe, might become a common totem, but this is merest conjecture.

On the exact nature and effects of this phase of Indian religious and social economy, the Relations are appealed to with equal result. That the Jesuits did not fully comprehend it is evident from their meagre accounts. A late writer has said that "even the current conception of Totemism stand in need of serious modification, and that up to the present time our study of it has not been deep or comprehensive enough to enable us to do more than formulate a merely provisional or very general definition of it."[58] The same writer tells us that

[55] Relation 1648–49, Vol. 33, p. 193.

[56] Relation of Le Jeune 1637, Vol. 13, p. 13.

[57] The origin of this word is not known with certainty. Mr. J. G. Frazer (s. v. "Totemism" in Encyc. Brit.) says it is derived from an Ojibway (Chippeway) word.

[58] Cf. "Proceedings and Translations of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, Vol. VII, "Totemism" by Mr. Charles Hill-Tout.

since the publication of Mr. J. G. Frazer's work on "Totemism" (Edinburgh, 1889) new evidence has been gathered, especially in Australia, which shows that it (Totemism) is not that ideal and exact social religious system of savage regimentation which some writers have endeavored to make it; that there are indeed scarcely any social phenomena more difficult to bring under rule and precise definition than this same Totemism."[59]

In nearly all cases the clan totem was an animal, "after whom," according to Brinton, "the clan or gens was named, and from which the mythic philosophy assumed that it was genealogically descended."[60] But although in the "mythic philosophy" the Indians seemed to claim descent from their animal totem, we have no reason to conclude that they actually believed they were descended from an animal. Mr. Brinton believed that no tribe had a "tradition whose real purport was that man came by natural processes of descent" from an animal ancestor. This is especially true of the tribes of which we are speaking.

We have seen that the totem assumed different shapes, at one time being a material, at another an animate object, according as the Indian dreamed of one or the other. In many, if not most cases, an animal appeared to the dreamer and henceforth became his totem and an object of worship. From this source seems to have come the animal worship which was widespread among our tribes.

The Indians at Green Bay, according to Father Nouvel, believed that "each species of animals, fishes and birds, has a special genius, who cares for it. Therefore, just as the Egyptians offered rats and mice on their altars, so these people cherish a special regard for these animals, as was illustrated in the case of a mouse that we had caught and thrown out doors; for a girl having snatched it up, and being inclined to eat it, her father first took the mouse, and bestowed a thousand caresses upon it. Upon our asking him why he treated it thus, 'Because,' said he, 'I wish to propitiate the genius that cares for mice, in order that so unusual a dish may not hurt my daughter.' "[61]

---

[59] Ibid.
[60] Brinton, op. cit., p. 121.
[61] Relation 1671–72, Vol. 56, pp. 125–7.

Here we have a good idea of the Indians' regard for the animal, which he has marked out for special honor. That he did not look upon this insignificant animal as a Manitou, is quite evident from this testimony of Father Nouvel. The latter also tells us that these Indians pay far more respect to the genii of some animals than to others. "It passes all belief," he says, "what veneration they have for the Bear, for after killing one in hunting they are wont to hold a solemn feast over it, with very special ceremonies. Carefully saving the animal's head, they paint it with the finest colors they can find; and during the feast they place it in an elevated position, to receive the worship of all the guests."[62]

The distinction between the animal and the spirit dwelling in the animal, was clearly marked among the Ottawa Indians. Father Rale says,[63] that "as they know hardly anything but the animals with which they live in the forests, they imagine that there is in these animals or rather in their skins or in their plumage, a sort of spirit who rules all things, and who is the master of life and death. According to them, there are Manitous common to the whole tribe, and there are special ones for each person. "Oussakita, they say is the great Manitou of all the animals that move on the earth or fly in the air. He it is who rules them; therefore, when they go to the hunt, they offer to him tobacco, powder, and lead, and also well prepared skins. These articles they fasten to the end of a pole, and raising it on high, they say to him: 'Oussakita, we give thee something to smoke, we offer thee something for killing animals. Deign to accept these presents, and do not permit the animals to escape our arrows—grant that we may kill the fattest ones, so that our children may not lack clothing and food.' "

This was the common belief of all the tribes in New France. The worship given apparently to the animal was in reality offered to the Manitou, who had taken the animal for his dwelling. They did not hesitate to kill this animal, as Father Rale says, and surely if they believed it was a god, fear and reverence would not suffer them to offer him such an indignity.

---

[62] Ibid.
[63] Relation 1726, Vol. 67, pp. 159–161.

This distinction between the animal and the indwelling Manitou is insisted on by Mr. Brinton. He sees, however, something unworthy in this form of worship, and attempts an explanation of its origin which he says is "least degrading to the human race."[64] His explanation is the following. Man being always matched against the wild creatures of the woods, "so superior to him in their dumb certainty of instinct, their swift motions, etc.," came to think, that they were superior in intelligence to himself. "They did not mind the darkness so terrible to him, but through the night called one to the other in a tongue, whose meaning he could not fathom, but which he doubted not was as full of purport as his own. . . . He doubted not that once upon a time he had possessed their instinct, they his language, but that some necromantic spell had been flung on them both to keep them asunder. None but a potent sorcerer could break this charm, but such an one could understand the chants of birds and the howls of savage beasts, and on occasion could transform himself into one or another animal, and course the forest, the air, or the waters as he saw fit. Therefore, it was not the beast that he worshipped, but that shade of the omnipotent deity which he thought he perceived under its form."

Dr. Brinton goes on to say that two subdivision of the animal kingdom entered in a special way into the myths of every nation on the globe; they are the Bird and the Serpent. These are preëminent because of the "facility with which their peculiarities offered sensuous images, under which to convey the idea ever present in the soul of man, ever striving at articulate expression."[65]

This explanation coming from a scholar like Mr. Brinton, is worthy of our closest attention. It is only conjectural, however, and he does not claim for it any authority other than his own. He does not believe that he can trace "early faiths to animal worship,"[66] but thinks that this particular form of worship is but one form chosen by the "infinite power" among many others. His explanation, therefore, only accounts for

[64] Brinton, op. cit., p. 122.
[65] Ibid., p. 123.
[66] Ibid., p. 121.

animal worship, and not for the religious idea in the savage mind, which precedes all forms of worship.

It seems to me, that from the accounts of the Jesuits themselves we can derive a simpler explanation of the origin of this form of worship. We have already given evidence of the process by which the Indian youth and maiden came to acquire an animal totem. The first animal appearing in the dreamful sleep of the fasting subject became his or her totem, and thereafter an object of worship. How the Indians came to believe that the Manitou appeared to them in sleep, we do not know. It is enough that we know the Manitou existed in their belief, and that they thought he would manifest himself to them in a dream.

That animals would play a very prominent part in these dreams is to be expected. The wild life of the Indians brought them in close contact with the animal world. We have already heard Father Rale's statement that they knew "hardly anything, but the animals with which they lived in the forests." Their livelihood depended on the animals they caught in a hunt, so that as we have already seen success in the chase was ever foremost in their thoughts, also the chief motive of their prayers. Hence, nothing is more natural than that the sleeper should dream of what played so important a part and was so indispensable in his life.

The animal last seen in the woods, or the one most commonly met with, or the one of which they had been speaking while awake, or the one usually used as food, would be the most likely, for the best of physical reasons, to appear in the dream, and thereafter become an object of worship as the embodiment of a Manitou. This seems to be a probable explanation of the widespread animal worship among all our Indian tribes.

Animal worship was not the only form of worship among the Indians of New France. An unlimited number of inanimate objects were considered sacred by the savages, because in them some Manitou was supposed to dwell. The stone, the tree, brook, lake, and ocean—all had their indwelling Manitous. There is a Manitou in the wind, the sky, the sun, and stars.

IV.

It was a common custom among our tribes to set up in their villages some material object which they honored by prayer and sacrifice. The Upper Algonkin Indians around Lake Superior practised a form of "idolatry" according to Father Francois Le Mercier, one of the missionaries.[67] He writes: "They have a grotesque image of black bronze, one foot in height, which was found in the country, and to which they gave a beard like that of a European.—There are certain fixed days for honoring the statue with feasts, games, dances, and even with prayers which are addressed to it with divers ceremonies. Among these, there is one which, although ridiculous in itself, is yet remarkable in that it embraces a kind of sacrifice. All the men, one after another, approach the statue and, in order to pay it homage with their tobacco, offer it their pipes that it may smoke; but as the idol cannot avail itself of the offer they smoke in its stead, blowing in to its face the tobacco smoke which they have in their mouths." Father Allouez believed that the Outaouacs were also idolatrous.[68] "I have seen," he says, "an idol set up in the middle of a village, and to it among other presents ten dogs were offered in sacrifice, in order to prevail on this false god to send elsewhere the disease that was depopulating the village. Every one went daily to make his offering to this idol according to his needs." These idols are nothing more than the totem of the tribe or the individual. Some of the missionaries called idols even the small stones carried by the Indians. Father Allouez says[69] that a young man "possessed a stone idol—which, however, had not the slightest resemblance to the human form. Still, it was his god; he offered it tobacco to smoke, dedicated his feasts in its honor, adorned it with porcelain; he kissed and caressed it and bore it along with pomp, assuming an air of intrepidity when he had it on his back." That here we have a worship of this material object coupled with the belief that it was really a god is not more likely than that the animal was worshipped itself

[67] Relation 1664–1665, Vol. —, pp. 241–3, and Relation 1666–1667, Vol. 51, p. 21.
[68] Relation 1666–67, Vol. 50, p. 87.
[69] Relation 1672–73, Vol. 57, p. 277.

and not the spirit dwelling in it. The Relations give us but one example of an attempt to represent the god in the material object. But even in this example given by Father Le Mercier, which I have quoted above, we are not told by the missionary whether the Indians had formed the image with their own hands. In fact he says that they found "the grotesque image" he speaks of and it is probable that its fancied resemblance to the human form caused them to believe that it was a fit dwelling for the Manitou, whom they worshipped in it. Many other examples of this nature could be adduced to show the belief of the Indians in the presence of the Manitou in material objects. No tribe in New France was without such a belief.

With this idea of a superior nature indwelling in animate and inanimate nature, coming into such close and intimate union with men, we are not surprised to find among these people a strong desire to propitiate and appease these powers. We have already given some examples of Indian sacrifices, which, with the following, will show how widespread the sacrificial idea was among our tribes.

The Huron Indians were accustomed to offer tobacco to the Sky with this prayer: "Listen, O Sky, taste my tobacco; have pity on us."[70] Father Lallemant, who gives us this prayer, has many other examples of tobacco-offering among these people.[71] That the Ottawas had this custom is attested by Father Le Mercier[72] and Father Allouez. The latter, on informing an Indian that bleeding would be efficacious in the treatment of his sick parents, tells us how his information was received by the savage.[73] "The poor man took some powdered tobacco, and sprinkled it completely over my gown saying to me 'Thou art a spirit; come now, restore these sick people to health: I offer thee tobacco in sacrifice.' 'What art thou doing, my brother,' I said, 'I am nothing, but He who made all things is the Master of our lives, while I am but his servant.' 'Well then,' he rejoined, scattering some tobacco on the ground, and raising his eyes on high, 'to thee then who madest heaven and earth, I offer this tobacco, give these sick people health.' "

[70] Relation 1642, Vol. 55, p. 23.
[71] Relation 1643–44, Vol. 26, p. 311.
[72] Relation 1666–67, Vol. 50, p. 265.
[73] Relation 1666–67, Vol. 51, pp. 43–47.

The Iroquois also offered tobacco in their sacrifices, according to Father Bruyas,[74] and Father Le Petit, in his description of the Natchez tells, that it was common among these southern people.[75] The Jesuits seem to have found no tribe, in which the gods were averse to the tobacco-offering. Because of the partiality of the Manitous for this form of sacrifice, we find the pipe or calumet figuring very prominently in the Indian worship.

Father Marquette, in the narration of his experiences, during his first voyage, in which he and Joliet discovered the Mississippi River, has left us a good account of the calumet.[76] He says: "There is nothing more mysterious or more respected among them. Less honor is paid to the crown and sceptres of kings than the savages bestow upon this. It seems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death. It has to be carried upon one's person and displayed to enable one to walk safely through the midst of enemies—who in the hottest of the fight lay down their arms when it is shown. . . . They have a great regard for it, because they look upon it as the calumet of the Sun, and in fact, they offer it to the latter to smoke when they wish to obtain a calm, etc. . . . The Calumet Dance, which is very famous among these peoples, is performed solely for important reasons, sometimes to strengthen peace, or to unite themselves for some great war; at other times for public rejoicing. In winter the ceremony takes place in a cabin, in summer in the open fields. When the spot is selected, it is completely surrounded by trees, so that all may sit in the shade afforded by their leaves. A large mat of rushes is spread in the middle of the place, and serves as a carpet, upon which to place with honor the god of the person who gives the dance; for each has his own god which they call their Manitou. Near this Manitou and at its right is placed the calumet, in honor of which the feast is given; and all around it a sort of trophy is made, and the weapons used by the warriors of these nations are spread. Each one salutes this Manitou. This he does by imbibing the smoke, and blowing it from his mouth upon the Manitou as if offering to it incense."

[74] Relation 1672–73, Vol. 57, p. 147.
[75] Relation 1720–36, Vol. 68, p. 43.
[76] Relation 1673–1677, Vol. 59, pp. 133–135.

Besides tobacco, we find that other gifts were thought to be agreeable to the gods. Father Le Jeune tells us, that the Montagnais used to throw grease into the fire, accompanying the offering with these words: *Papeouekon Papeouekon*—"make us find something to eat, make us find something to eat."[77]

Food-offerings were also quite common. Fathers Lallemant[78] and Ragueneau[79] have left us accounts of such sacrifices among the Hurons. Animals because of their value, were thought to be especially efficacious in securing the good will and protection of the gods. The latter were thought to have the same appetites as men. Father Jogues says the Iroquois were accustomed to offer their "demon" the animals taken in the chase, saying:[80] "We offer thee this flesh, and prepare for thee a feast with it, that thou mayst eat of it, and show us where are the stags, and send them into our snares."

Among all the tribes, the dog-sacrifice was common, and was always considered a special mark of homage, the dog being valued highly by the Indians, and being the pièce de résistance at all important feasts. The Algonkins, according to Father Le Jeune, made feasts of dogs to effect cures,[81] and Father Lallemant found a similar custom among the Hurons.[82] When a storm arose on their Lake, the Ottawa Indians thought the surest way to appease the angry spirit of the waters was to throw overboard from their canoes a live dog. Father Allouez says, that on these occasions they accompanied the offering with this command, "Keep quiet, that is to appease thee."[83] Among the Iroquois Father Bruyas found the same custom.[84]

Other animals were used, and were thought to have great value in the estimation of the gods.

But the most efficacious were human sacrifices; these, especially among the Iroquois, were not rare. The latter, we are told by Father Le Jeune, "sometimes take a new-born child,

[77] Relation 1634, Vol. 6, pp. 173 and 205. For same sacrifice among the Hurons cf. Relation 1653, Vol. 39, p. 13.
[78] Relation 1639, Vol. 17, p. 209.
[79] Relation 1647–1648, Vol. 33, p. 227.
[80] Bressani's Relation 1635, Vol. 39, p. 207.
[81] Relation 1637, Vol. 13, p. 31.
[82] Relation 1639, Vol. 17, p. 211.
[83] Relation 1666–67, Vol. 50, p. 265.
[84] Relation 1672–73, Vol. 57, p. 147, and Relation 1689–95, Vol. 64, pp. 187–189.

stick arrows into it, and throw it into the fire. When the flesh is consumed, they take the bones and crumble them to a powder; and when they intend to go to war, they swallow a little of this powder, believing that this beverage increases their courage. They also use these ashes for their charms and superstitions. The mother who gives her child for this abominable sacrifice is rewarded with some valuable present.''[85]

Father Jogues, before he fell beneath the tomahawk of the cruel Iroquois, had more than once been chosen by these Indians as a victim for sacrifice. They believed that the souls of their dead would be comforted and assisted by a companion or servant, in their journey to the land of souls.[86]

The following account of a human sacrifice given by Father Jogues, is illustrative of the belief among all our Indians that the Manitous are always appeased by the sacrifice of captives.[87] Some warriors, supposed to have been lost, had unexpectedly returned to an Iroquois village, with twenty-nine prisoners. The latter ''were of a nation that had never waged war with them and, nevertheless, they were treated as is usual in the case of the fiercest enemies—with beatings, mutilations of the fingers, fire, and the most cruel outrages, etc. . . . But what they did at Pentecost is horrible. They brought three women from the same nation, with their little children, and received them naked, with heavy blows of sticks. They cut off their fingers, and after having roasted one of them over her entire body, they threw her still alive into a great fire, to make her die therein—an act uncommon even there. And as often as they applied the fire to that unhappy one with torches and burning brands, an old man cried in a loud voice, 'Aireskoi,[88] we sacrifice to thee this victim, that thou mayst satisfy thyself with her flesh, and give us victory over our enemies.' ''

We have seen that in the selection of their Manitou the Indians trust implicitly to their dreams, believing that they are bound to fulfill any obligation thus revealed to them. The Hurons carried this superstition even to the point of offering

[85] Relation 1640, Vol. 19, p. 71.
[86] Relation 1647, Vol. 31, p. 85. Bressani's Relation 1653, Vol. 39, pp. 13, 217–219.
[87] Ibid., pp. 219–220.
[88] This Manitou will be discussed a little farther on.

human sacrifice to the god who had appeared to them in sleep. The following graphic narrative of Father Jean de Quens will illustrate this point.[89] "One of them (the Hurons) having dreamed that he gave a feast of human flesh, invited all the chief men of the country to his cabin to hear a matter of importance. When they had assembled, he told them that he was ruined, as he had had a dream impossible of fulfillment; that his ruin would entail that of the whole nation; and that a universal overthrow and destruction of the earth was to be expected. He asked them to guess his dream. All struck wide of the mark until one man suspecting the truth said to him, 'Thou wishest to give a feast of human flesh. Here, take my brother; I place him in thy hands to be cut up on the spot, and put into the kettle.'

"All present were seized with fright except the dreamer, who replied that his dream required a woman. Superstition went so far that they adorned a girl with all the riches of the country—just as the victims of old were decked for immolation; and that poor innocent, not knowing why she was made to look so pretty, was actually led to the place appointed for the sacrifice. All the people attended to witness so strange a spectacle. The guests took their place, and the public victim was led into the middle of the circle. She was delivered to the sacrificer, who was the very one for whom the sacrifice was to be made. He took her, they watched his actions and pitied that innocent girl, but when they thought him about to deal the death blow, he cried out, 'I am satisfied, my dream requires nothing further.'"

That the Indians had a distinct notion of sacrifice is incontestable from the evidence here set forth. The object offered in most cases is a valuable one from their point of view, and hence worthy. In the human sacrifices they rendered up their highest gift. The benefits sought, it is true, by these sacrifices never transcended the material, but in them the ethical element cannot be said to be entirely lacking. This is especially true of the last example given, which bears a striking resemblance to the attempted sacrifice of Abraham in the Old Testament. Here we have, first of all, the absolute submission to the will

[89] Relation 1655–1656, Vol. 42, pp. 15–155.

of the Manitou, who being Master of their Lives has but to speak, and they render unto him that which he demands. Here, too, is the strong bond that unites men of the same tribe to one another, and to their common totem deity. Before this loyalty to their totem and to the tribe, not even natural affection is to be preferred; brother must sacrifice brother, a parent must even surrender his child. When we remember that the morality of the Indians was crude and distorted, that their norm of ethics was infinitely inferior to ours, that they considered the height of human perfection to consist in tribal loyalty and personal bravery, we can readily see that in these sacrifices were displayed and encouraged in practice what they considered the noblest virtues.

V.

In no way does the Indian sacrifice differ more from that of civilized peoples than in the absence of a definite ritual and priesthood. We have seen in the examples given that their ritual was crude and arbitrary, if indeed, the sporadic ejaculations and prayers accompanying the sacrifice could in any sense be called a ritual. As a consequence evidence of an organized priesthood is sought in vain.

The nearest approach to anything of the kind was made by the Natchez Indians of whom Father Le Petit gives us the following account which I make bold to quote at some length.[90]

"This nation of savages inhabits one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in the world, and is the only one in the country, which appears to have any regular worship. Their religion in certain points is very similar to that of the ancient Romans. They have a temple filled with idols, which are different figures of men and of animals, and for which they have the most profound veneration. Their temple in shape resembles an earthen oven a hundred feet in circumference. They enter it by a little door about four feet high, and not more than three feet in breadth. No window is to be seen there. The arched roof of the edifice is covered with three rows of mats placed one upon the other, to prevent the rain from injuring the masonry. Above, on the outside, are three figures of eagles, made of wood, and painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door

[90] Relation 1720–1736, Vol. 68, pp. 121–125.

is a kind of shed with folding doors, where the guardian of the temple is lodged. All around it runs a circle of palisades, on which are seen exposed the skulls of all the heads which their warriors had brought back from the battles in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation. In the interior of the temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are placed the bones of the ancient chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims who had caused themselves to be strangled, to follow their master into the other world. Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets very gorgeously painted in which they preserve their idols. There are figures of men and women, made of stone or baked clay, the heads and tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jaw-bones of large fish. In the year 1599, they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass, which they guarded as very precious. In this temple they keep up a perpetual fire, and they are very particular to prevent its ever blazing. They do not use anything for it, but dry wood of the walnut or oak. The old men are obliged, each on his turn, to carry a large log of wood into the enclosure of the palisade. The number of the guardians is fixed, and they serve by the quarter. He who is on duty is placed like a sentinel under the shed, from which he examines whether the fire is not in danger of going out. He feeds it with two or three large logs, which do not burn except at the extremity, and which they never place one on the other, for fear of their getting into a blaze. Of the women, the sisters of the Great Chief alone have liberty to enter within the temple. The entrance is forbidden to all others, as well as to the common people, even when they carry something there to feast to the memory of their relatives, whose bones repose in the temple. They give the dishes to the guardian, who carries them to the side of the basket in which are the bones of the dead; this ceremony lasts only during one moon. The dishes are afterwards placed on the palisades, which surround the temple and are abandoned to the fallow deer."

These guardians of the Temple, from this narrative of Father Le Petit, certainly possessed characteristics which have always been considered by civilized peoples the distinctive marks of the priest. They alone were permitted to receive the offerings of the people and carry them into the sacred precincts. They alone were suffered to keep alive the sacred fire, by which the deity was honored. How did this priesthood

originate? Were its members chosen from a separate clan or family? What were the requirements beside the advanced age of the candidate? These details were not known, or at any rate, were not mentioned, by the missionaries.

Not a few scholars see in the medicine men, shamans or jugglers, the qualities of the priest. This peculiar class of men, who were at one time the physicians of the tribe, at another clairvoyants, magicians, prophets, is constantly referred to in the Relations. Their origin, the nature of their peculiar gifts, and their influence on the untutored savage, constitute a most interesting branch of the study of Indian cults, a study to which ought to be devoted more space than is here at our disposal. The merest reference to them, therefore, is all that we can make here.

The Jesuits believed that these men were their most determined and implacable foes. In the Relations they are called allies of the devil, mountebanks who for their own gain ruthlessly played upon the superstitions of the savages. Some of their performances were so marvellous as to astound the missionaries; but in most cases they appeared only as "foolish mockery capable of deceiving only the blind."

The Jesuits, needless to say, never considered that these men were priests. It is true, they tell us that the "Juggler" assumed a superiority in the tribe, when successful in his magic cures, that his power was terrible, and his use of it unhesitating; but all characteristics of the priestly office are lacking. They were not more particularly identified with the sacrifice than were the ordinary members of the tribe. Their skill in necromancy only showed that they were specially favored by their Manitou,[91] and hence their aid was sought to secure certain advantages of their profession. But that their office was distinct from the priestly office appears from the fact that even among the Natchez they existed along with the guardian of the temple. Their powers were never thought to make them more worthy to hold the office of guardian than other men who did not enjoy their prestige. They were not, among this tribe, the class which either originated this priesthood or the germ out of which it developed.

[91] Bressani's Relation, 1653, Vol. 39, p. 21.

It has been said that since they "set up to be agents of the gods and interpreters of the divinity"[92] they were truly priests. But the concept of priest means much more than this and, unless we give a new meaning to the word, we cannot dignify these magicians, charlatans, jugglers, sorcerers or prophets by that name. The Jesuits thought they were nothing but impostors.[93] It is not, however, by any means probable that these men were as deceitful as the Jesuits believed. They were sincere in their belief that the Manitou would use them as instruments to perform mighty deeds among men, and in most cases their extraordinary powers were wielded for the good of their fellows. Father Le Jeune, speaking of the Montagnais, tells us that the medicine men of this tribe asked the missionaries to teach them what must be done to cure the sick, promising to observe carefully the instructions given.[94] With this general idea of the concept of the Supernatural among the Indians we are convinced first, that far from being lacking there was a very definite idea of the Deity among them. The sum of their belief is contained in the words *Manitou* and *Oki*. This great underlying, all-pervading principle, mysterious indeed, but always in closest union with men, was at one time benevolent, at another malignant. It embodied itself in innumerable shapes and forms and was never a monotheistic concept.

WILLIAM B. MARTIN.

---

[92] "Myths of the New World," Brinton, p. 304.

[93] Relation of Le Jeune 1634, Vol. 6, p. 163. Many other references could be given on this point; this is characteristic of them all.

[94] Relation of Le Jeune 1637, Vol. 12, p. 11.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT IRELAND.[1]

It is not often that there is put upon the market a general history of the far-reaching and exhaustive character which differentiates these two stately volumes from all the writings on Ireland that have appeared since the days of John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. It may be safely asserted at once that Dr. Joyce has done for Ireland a service that will nevermore be forgotten, one that places him on a level with any of the famous modern historians of the genuine national and racial lives of the great peoples who still survive as principal factors, in one sense or another, in the civilization and development of humankind.

The work of Dr. Joyce is to be classed with Janssen's History of the German People since the fifteenth century, Father Michael's History of the German People since the thirteenth century, and McMaster's History of the American People. It pre-supposes the political and religious development of an ancient people, likewise a long and detailed development among them of literature, learning, and the manifold habits and customs of social and domestic life. This is the framework of his labors, the great background on which, with admirable art and infinite patience, he outlines the multitudinous details of the popular life of Ireland from the fifth to the twelfth century, *i. e.*, during the historical period of domestic growth and absolute racial and national freedom. It is true that there is a world of knowledge beyond these limits, both on one side and the other. It is also true that these volumes will always be looked upon as a great key to much that has hitherto been misunderstood in the provinces of Irish pre-history and Anglo-Irish history. It is not, however, the purpose of Dr. Joyce to discuss Irish life outside of the limits that he has

[1] "A Social History of Ancient Ireland, Treating of the Government, Military System, and Law; Religion, Learning, and Art; Trades, Industries, and Commerce; Manners, Customs, and Domestic Life, of the Ancient Irish People." By P. W. Joyce, LL.D., Trin. Coll., Dub.; M.R.I.A., one of the Commissioners for the Publication of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 91–93 Fifth Avenue, 1903. 8° (Illustrated), Vol. I, pp. xiv + 631; Vol. II, pp. xi + 651. Eight dollars.

placed for himself. He has done well thus to circumscribe his historical task. Indeed, even the limits that he assigns to himself are so vast, shut in such an incredibly large mass of original materials, exhibit a people so active and earnest, so caught up in important continental processes of deepest import, so peculiarly related to the civilization of Rome and the no-civilization of Teutonic life, so peculiarly apart from the political development of early mediæval Europe, and yet so influential upon all its thought, letters, art and religious life, that only a scholar of Dr. Joyce's erudition, excellent methodical training, and skill in historical narrative, could hope to compass its execution within a reasonable time, and along lines of due proportion.

It is time to lay before the reader some clear and succinct notion of the arduous labors of eight years which have found their issue and crown in this book. The work is divided into three parts. Part I treats of the Government, Military System and Law of Ancient Ireland. Part II treats of its Religion, Learning and Art. Part III treats of its Social and Domestic Life.

I.

In the first part, after some preliminary remarks on the sources of our knowledge concerning the literature, material remains, written historical testimonies, and population of Ireland in ancient times, to which is added a preliminary bird's-eye view of the whole vast subject, Dr. Joyce proceeds to treat of government and administration in Ancient Ireland. He lays before us its system of monarchical government and deals in succession with the concept of territorial sub-division and the classes of kings; their election and inauguration, their revenue and authority; their privileges, limitations and restrictions; their household, revenue, and court officers. A list of the Over-Kings of Ireland from B. C. 1015 to A. D. 1161, fittingly closes this subdivision. There follows naturally a chapter on warfare in Ancient Ireland. Conquest and colonization were usually its first causes. After a full treatment of the same, he proceeds to describe military ranks, orders and services; arms, offensive and defensive; strategy, tactics, and modes of fighting. Some eighty pages are devoted to the story

of this side of ancient Irish life, as described in the chronicles, monuments, and folk-lore of the people.

After all, warfare, though plentiful, was neither the sole nor the chief occupation of man in early mediæval Ireland. Human society existed there in a very highly developed, if peculiar and strictly racial, form. We learn about the five main classes of the people, the *flaiths* or nobles, the non-noble freemen, some of them with property and some of them without property, the non-free classes, at the head of all being the several grades of kings from the king of the little cantred or *tuath* up to the Over-King of Ireland. The laws of the land, social and agrarian, next engage the attention of the historian. We learn about the Brehons and their great law book the Senchus Môr, and other legal texts. We also learn something about the absence of formal legislation through the want of a sufficiently strong central state authority. The Brehon Laws, did not themselves pretend to be a legislative structure, but merely a collection of customs, obtaining the force of law by long usage, heredity, habit and public opinion, all of which was thrown into shape and committed to writing by a special class of professional lawyers. Though vehemently condemned by English writers and the English parliament, there is good reason to believe that these laws were well suited to the society in which they grew up and for which they were made. It is certainly a tribute to them that the English settlers outside the Pale quickly adoped the Brehon code. Even such great Anglo-Norman lords as the Butlers kept Brehons in their service after the manner of Irish chiefs.

Dr. Joyce then deals at considerable length, with the administration of justice in Ancient Ireland, the law of compensation, procedure by distress, procedure by fasting, the eric or compensation-fine, the modes of punishment and courts of justice.

In the second part of his great work, dealing with the religion, learning and art of Ireland, Dr. Joyce consecrates to his task about the same numbers of chapters as he does to the public life, law, and administration of the people. Two extremely interesting chapters bring before us on the one side the paganism of Ireland at the time of its conversion, and on

the other, the simple and primitive character of its Christianity. In the chapter on paganism, that takes up about a hundred pages of the first volume, Dr. Joyce has brought together a *mare magnum* of highly interesting information concerning the Druids of Ireland, their functions and powers, the likeness and the unlikeness between the Druids of Ireland and those of Gaul. The elements of their religion are discussed under the subheadings, sorcerer and sorceries; gods, goblins and phantoms; worship of idols, human sacrifice; worship of weapons and worship of the elements. He then describes the heaven of the pagan Irish and their ideas of the future state, their affection for the sun, the institution of the ordeal, the preference for certain numbers, the evil eye, and the peculiar Irish pagan custom of *geasa* or prohibitions. In the chapter on Christianity in Ancient Ireland, Dr. Joyce treats successively of Christianity before the arrival of Saint Patrick, of the three famous orders of Irish saints—secular clergy, monastic clergy, and hermit communities—of buildings and other material, requisites, revenues and means of support, also of various other features of the ancient Irish Church and of certain popular religious ideas.

We come now to a province of mediæval Irish history that has long exercised a fascination upon all those who care for the history of the human mind, and who love to see justice done from time to time upon those writers and peoples who have slandered and calumniated races and nations that they were able to subdue politically, but whose intellectual equality, or even superiority, they were unable to overcome or escape from. I mean learning, education and literature. Dr. Joyce devotes five chapters, and nearly one hundred and fifty pages to this important section. We read here much concerning the learning of Ireland in pagan times, the nature and use of the Ogham writing, the monastic schools and the lay schools of early mediæval Ireland, certain academical features of both classes of schools, the degrees given and the subjects studied, the men of learning, or professors and savants, the honors and rewards for learning, and the relative mastery of such natural science as was then had. He then proceeds to discuss the history of the Irish language, its divisions and dialects,

likewise, such helps for the production of a native literature as the art of writing, writing materials, books and libraries. An interesting chapter is the one in which he enumerates and describes those famous ancient books of Ireland that have come down to us, *e. g.*, The Book of Leinster, The Book of Ballymote, The Yellow Book of Lecan, and others that are yet preserved in the libraries of Dublin, and elsewhere. The ecclesiastical and religious writings of the mediæval Irish are described at considerable length, but with due proportion. We learn, too, how their annals, histories and genealogies were compiled; about certain tests of their accuracy, and what were the names or titles of the principal annals, histories, genealogies and topographical works. As it has now become the fashion for many men and women of modern literature to go to Ireland for new, fresh and entrancing materials of romance, the chapter that Dr. Joyce gives to the historical and romantic tales of Ancient Ireland will not only interest many, but in all likelihood be extremely useful, bringing light, common sense, and facts into a study that has hitherto been somewhat cloudy and ill-defined, at least here at home. The reader may now learn with ease and accuracy about the classes, lists, and numbers of Irish romantic tales, about the chronological cycles and the general character of the tales, about story-telling and recitation in Ancient Ireland, and about modern translations and versions of a literature that could impassion such men as William Morris, Matthew Arnold, and John Ruskin. Is it too trite to repeat: *Graecia capta ferum victorem coepit?*

Apropos of the art of Ancient Ireland, Dr. Joyce takes up in succession the incredibly delicate and complicated pen-work and illumination of manuscripts, the work in gold, silver and enamel, of which many splendid specimens have come down to us or are from time to time dug up from the soil, the specimens of artistic metal-work on a somewhat larger scale, and of stone carving. Dr. Joyce is of course at home, as nobody else in or out of Ireland, when he writes concerning the music of his native land, the history of its preservation, the nature of Irish musical instruments, the characteristics, classes and styles of Irish music, and the modern collections of the same,—after all, only a poor fragment of the songs and melodies that

filled the breasts of the people while they yet enjoyed their fair share of world-happiness, and still stood in their own little place under the sun.

A physician himself, and an archæologist, Dr. Joyce brings peculiar qualifications to the history of medicine in Ireland. Every reader will peruse with pleasure what he has to say about medical doctors, medical manuscripts, diseases and their treatment, popular cures and remedies.

II.

The third part of this epoch-making work takes up the entire second volume and is devoted to the social and domestic life of Ancient Ireland. In thirteen chapters and five hundred and eighty pages Dr. Joyce brings together all we can know, in the present state of our historical authorities, concerning the ways and habits of mediæval man and woman in Ireland. Naturally be begins with the family. Here, we learn about marriage, the position of women and children in the family, about family names, and about that peculiar Irish custom of fosterage which plays so great a part in the political history of mediæval Ireland. After the family comes the house or shelter beneath which it lives out its life, and so we learn about the construction and shape of the house in mediæval Ireland, its interior arrangements and sleeping accommodations, the outer premises and defence, domestic vessels, royal residences, and the like. After shelter comes maintenance, and so a chapter on food, fuel and light tells us in about seventy pages concerning meals, drink, cooking, flesh-meat and its accompaniments, milk and its products, corn and its preparation, honey, vegetables and fruits, fuel and light, and free public hostels. The modern writers on ethnography lay great stress on dress and personal adornment. Hence, there are about one hundred pages on the person and the toilet, on dress, on personal ornaments. Forty pages are devoted to the latter interesting section, naturally because the monumental remains are extremely abundant for its illustration. We may call attention here, to a very instructive classified list of gold objects in the National Museum at Dublin.

The mediæval Irish people lived chiefly by agriculture and

pasturage,—hence we are told about the fencing of the land, about the land itself, the crops and tillage, about the farm animals, and about herding, grazing and milking. The state of civilization which the Irish people of this period had reached presupposes the existence of crafts, trades and industries, principal among which were the workers in wood, metal, and stone. So Dr. Joyce tells us about these materials, about builders, braisers, and founders, about the blacksmith and his forge, about carpenters and masons and other craftsmen, and about their legal protection and social position.

Dealing equally with the concepts of maintenance and industry is the chapter on corn-mills. Scarcely any pages in the work are more interesting than those which treat of the "eight parts" of a mill, small mills, drying and grinding, common property in mills, querns and grain-rubbers. Among the domestic industries of Ireland weaving and tanning were naturally of considerable importance. What we can know about these industries is related under the sub-headings wool and woolen fabrics, flax and its preparation, dyeing, sewing and embroidery, tanners, tanning, and articles of leather-work.

Measures, weights, and mediums of exchange, are notoriously one of the principal and surest sources of calculating the condition of popular civilization along certain lines. We learn in the chapter that deals with them a great deal concerning length and area, capacity and weight, standards of value and mediums of exchange, time, and enumeration (decimal system). Under the caption of locomotion and commerce, Dr. Joyce has brought together much information concerning roads, bridges and causeways, chariots and cars, horse-riding, communication by water, and foreign commerce. There follows very naturally a chapter on public assemblies, sports, and pastimes, in which are described the great conventions and fairs of mediæval Ireland, *e. g.*, the Fair of Carman in Wexford, the general regulations for such meetings, the animals connected with hunting and sport, the races, athletic games like hurling, the game of chess, and then the omnipresent class of jesters, jugglers, and gleemen.

A small multitude of social customs and observances do not fit, except under considerable pressure, into any of the preced-

ing parts or chapters. Hence they are bulked by Dr. Joyce in one or two concluding chapters. Here he treats of salutation, of pledging, lending and borrowing, and of provision for old age and destitution. Nothing is more common in the old Irish literary texts than the love of nature and natural beauty. Hence Dr. Joyce has collected many illustrations of the same. They had their own notion of what they called the six stages or divisions of life, and of the different kinds of human temperaments. They had the blood-covenant, they threw into running waters the ashes of their cremated dead, they held animals as pets. They had peculiar notions about the points of the compass, about the sea, and about the wind —the different winds were held by them to be somehow colored, grey, black, purple, green, red, etc. Dr. Joyce prints (II, 522) a sketch of the colors of the twelve winds constructed from the description of them in the Saltair na Rann. Finally, he treats of the care of orphans in early Ireland and about the curious "prophecies" of Irish saints, with other small matters worthy of notice.

A last chapter is devoted to death and burial, those closing scenes of social life in Ireland as elsewhere on earth. Here are gathered together such indications as have reached us concerning wills and testaments, funeral obsequies, the modes of burial, cemeteries and sepuchral monuments.

III.

The work of Dr. Joyce is abundantly illustrated. Three hundred and fifty-eight illustrations, executed in an artistic and satisfactory manner, adorn its pages. The type and general page-execution of the work is above all reasonable criticism. The "List of Authorities" cited at the end of the second volume indicates three hundred and sixty-eight distinct works as used, more or less freely, in the preparation of these volumes. Many of these works are, however, extensive collections. It would not therefore, be too much to say that scarcely less than a thousand volumes have been constantly passing through the hands of the author in the preparation of this stupendous work. When we look closely at the character of these writings we see that there is scarcely an im-

portant publication, English or foreign, on Keltic matters in the last fifty years, that has not contributed something to "A Social History of Ancient Ireland." In particular nearly every foreign name of learned repute is represented; indeed, the heavily annoted pages of the work are evidence of a conscientious consultation of the very best modern writers that could in any way illustrate the habits and manners of mediæval Ireland. It is safe to say that there are very small gleanings left in the field through which this master of mediæval Irish history has been so long harvesting. This does not mean that he has undertaken to include in this work every small archæological detail. On the contrary, especially when the material is abundant, he usually selects what is typical, striking, and particularly instructive. A very exhaustive index of forty pages, in fine but clear diamond-type, makes perfectly accessible the thousands of little statements and references that are scattered up and down these volumes. Our readers will have already noted how very orderly and scientific is the general distribution of materials, as exhibited in the table of contents. With this illuminating index we have another kindly and skilful guide through the mazes of mediæval Irish social archæology in as far as it mirrors the manners and the thoughts of the people of Ireland, whatever their class or calling.

It may not be out of place to put before our readers a little more in detail the scope of Dr. Joyce in the preparation of this work. He states in the preface (p. vii), that in order to obtain a clear view of the general state of any particular country in past times, it is necessary to understand the entire people, high and low, rich and poor; to make clear to ourselves what were their standards of civilization and learning; what their virtues and failings, their industries, occupations and amusements, their manners and customs; and in general, the sort of life they led day by day in their homes. This important function of history, the delineation of the social and domestic life of nations and races, has now been fairly well done for most of the great peoples who have figured in the history of the world. In the opinion of Dr. Joyce, the time has come for the performance of such a task in favor of his native country. He says (ib.):

"Perhaps it would be acknowledged that Ireland deserves to be similarly commemorated. For, besides the general importance of all such studies in elucidating the history of the human race, the Ancient Irish were a highly intellectual and interesting people; and the world owes them something, as I hope to be able to show. In this book an attempt is made to picture society, in all its phases, as it existed in Ireland before the Anglo-Norman invasion; and to accomplish this work—to bring together into one essay all that is known on the subject—every authentic source of information within my reach has been turned to account. I have collected the scattered Sybilline leaves with much loving labour and sorted and pieced them together slowly and patiently, so as to form a connected and intelligible statement; but in my case, there were a hundred times more inscribed leaves to deal with than ever any votary picked up in the Sybil's cave. Or perhaps some of my readers, putting aside this metaphor, may rather see in the book the likeness of some spacious edifice, with symmetrical wings, and numerous bright apartments, all differently furnished and ornamented. The visitor who wishes to enter here and explore the interior will find the way, plainly pointed out at the opening of every corridor, and each apartment labelled to indicate, in a general way, what is to be seen inside. The society depicted here—as the reader will soon discover for himself—was of slow and methodical growth and development; duly subordinated from the highest grades of people to the lowest; with clearly defined ranks, professions, grades, and industries; and in general with those various pursuits and institutions found in every well ordered community: a society compacted and held together by an all-embracing system of laws and customs, long established and universally recognized."

Dr. Joyce pays full credit to the learned labors of Ware, O'Curry, Sullivan, and other scholars who have illustrated the life of the Irish people in the last four centuries. He rightly observes, however, that they dealt only with portions of the vast field, and made no attempt of opening it up in its entirety. This is the purpose of Dr. Joyce, a noble and monumental purpose, even though it be accompanied, like all human undertakings, by the liability to error and imperfection. He admits that perhaps the latter source of weakness is the principal one, since the sources of information on the state of Ancient Ireland are not yet fully available. It is better he thinks to make some kind of a beginning than to postpone the work indefinitely.

As to the viewpoint of Dr. Joyce, it is well to remember that he does not pretend to deal with the pre-historical period

of Ireland. He does not write from the viewpoint of Col. Wood-Martin or Mr. Wakeman. He tells us that his survey generally goes back only so far as there is light from living record—history or tradition:

"I am content to stand near the outer margin of the fog and observe and delineate the people as they emerge from darkness and twilight. At first indeed there was often only a faint glimmer, and the figures and their surroundings are shadowy and indistinct, but subsequent observation, made in broad historical daylight, generally enables us to clear up the uncertainty or correct the error of the first dim view."

His historical method is that of the best workers in the new province of social history. In such works there is seldom an attempt to pursue inquiries exhaustively or to go quite to the bottom of things; it is clear that the history of a single people pursued in that manner would take an incalculable number of volumes. What is particularly looked for is the typical, the habitual and ordinary—whatever is illustrative of the daily life of the people in question, from whatever point of view it be approached. After that, accuracy of statement, of inference, quotation, and reference, are rightly exacted. It is also quite proper and necessary that such a writer should make constant use of the labors of others, on condition, however, that the fact be regularly acknowledged. This is precisely the case with the work of Dr. Joyce. He has also paid some attention to the comparison of the mediæval social life of Ireland with that of other ancient nations. Whenever he comes across correspondences that result from the common Aryan origin he points them out, in so far as the proportions of his work permit.

The relations betwen England and Ireland in the past, naturally call for a brief statement from Dr. Joyce, concerning certain extreme opinions on either side, ultraism manifesting itself not only in the province of politics, but even in the peaceful domain of letters and erudition.

"In regard to my subject, we have, on the one hand, those English and Anglo-Irish people—and they are not few—who think, merely from ignorance, that Ireland was a barbarous and half-savage country, before the English came among them and civilized them; and on the other hand there are those of my countrymen who have an exaggerated idea of the greatness and splendor of the Ancient Irish nation.

I have not been in the least influenced by writers belonging to either class. Following trustworthy authorities I have tried to present here a true picture of ancient Irish life, neither over-praising or depreciating. I have not magnified what was worthy of commendation, nor suppressed, nor unwarrantly toned down, features that told unfavorably for the people: although I love the honour of Ireland well, I love truth better. The Irish race, after a long protracted struggle, went down before a stronger people; and in addition to this from causes that it would be out of place to discuss here, they suffered almost a total eclipse at home during a period nearly coincident with the eighteenth century. Chiefly for these reasons the old Irish people have never, in modern times, received the full measure of credit due to them for their early and striking advance in the arts of civilized life, for their very comprehensive system of laws, and for their noble and successful efforts, both at home and abroad, in the cause of religion and learning. Of late, indeed, we can perceive among Continental and British writers, something like a spontaneous movement, showing a tendency to do them justice; but the essays in this direction, though just, and often even generous, as far as they go, are fragmentary, scattered, and fitful. Those who are interested in this aspect of the subject, will perhaps be pleased to have the whole case presented to them in one Essay."

It is not often that a rival appears to undertake again such grave labors as those of Dr. Joyce. Indeed, it is seldom that even in Ireland archæologists appear so well equipped by nature and past services to paint the real portrait of the "Insula Doctorum et Sanctorum." He has done, on a very large scale, and after the best examples of historical ethnography, what Skene and Anderson, Furnivall and Traill, have done on a smaller scale and in a partial way, for Scotland and England. It may be that one day a philosophic historian will arise to endow Ireland with a story of her long career not unworthy of its checkered phases. Such a writer will deserve to have written upon his statue the lines attributed to Ennius.

"Aspicite, o civis, senis Enni imaginis formam.
Hic vestrum panxit maxima facta patrum."

But he will have to share his glory with some who have gone before him, such as the editor of the "Annals of the Four Masters," the author of the "Manuscript Materials for Irish History," and henceforth with the author of "A Social History of Ancient Ireland."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Le Discours aux Grecs de Tatien, Recherches, suivies d'une traduction française du discours avec notes. Par Aimé Puech. Paris, Alcan, 1903. 8°, pp. 158.

Tatian has always been a *crux* to patrologists, none the less because of the scarcity of knowledge concerning him. His "Diatessaron" has of late become the standard of all who defend the traditional Catholic doctrine concerning the canonical character and authority of the four gospels. But his Discourse to the Greeks, usually known as his "Apology," is no less useful authority for the history of apologetic and polemic literature among the primitive Christians. Gebbhardt and Harnack have shown that the actual text of all the Greek Christian apologists, with the exception of St. Justin, Hermias, and Theophilus ad Autolycum, goes back to a codex of the year 914 known as the Arethas-Codex. Since then Kukula, Ponschab, Schwartz and Dembowski have spent upon the "Discourse" much ingenuity and labor, not unnecessarily, for the text is often broken or dubious. M. Puech is of opinion that it was written between 169 and 172, probably at Antioch or Edessa, and that the author had the benefit of the writings of his master St. Justin. Tatian had been in his time a wandering sophist after the manner of Dio Chrysostom, and it is from the handy manuals of that second-century Bohême, as well as from his own observations, that he drew the curious details about inventions and discoveries in the pre-Christian times with which the treatise abounds. M. Puech pays special attention to the famous fifth chapter of the "Discourse" in which appears the subordinationist text that has caused Tatian to be looked on by some as a precursor of Arius. Very interesting are the pages that he devotes to the so-called "Catalogue of Statues" a kind of museum of a certain class of statues erected to the great "meretrices" of antiquity. All the principal points of Tatian's doctrine are discussed, likewise the questions whether the "Discourse" was ever really delivered or merely a written theme, and whether it was written before Tatian left the Church or after. Every page of Tatian reveals an intensely personal character—his very style, harsh and incorrect, though always lively and "piquant," stamps him as an Oriental counterpart of Tertullian. Withal, M. Puech says of him that he is "celui des

apologistes grecs du second siècle qui est le plus un écrivain; il a son art à lui qui n'est pas toujours de bon goût, mais qui est conscient et voulu et qui, d'ailleurs, dans ses procédés les plus essentiels est conforme au goût qui régnait en son temps." More Asiatic than Attic in his eloquence, this original and bizarre man stands as a type of certain Oriental Greeks to whom the gravity, simplicity, and moral beauty of the Christian teaching made an irresistible appeal, but who also brought in with them native traits and tendencies that only too easily solicited such men as Tatian and Bardesanes into the camp of a brilliant but fantastic Gnosticism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Education du Jeune Clergé. G. Zocchi, S.J. Paris: Oudin, 1903. 8°, pp. 164.

In the last decade quite an extensive literature has arisen concerning the education of the Catholic clergy. Its existence and its bulk are, in one way, a very favorable sign that desirable improvement is at hand. This is all the more probable as such improvement is called for by bishops and priests of great merit, acknowledged standing, and unquestioned devotion to the interests of Catholicism. This valuable new literature of ecclesiastical education is not confined to one nation—it is met with in France, Germany, England, Italy, and the United States. The books of Dr. Smith and Dr. Hogan are not yet forgotten among us, any more than the masterly classic of Cardinal Manning, the noble work of Cardinal Gibbons, and the book of Fr. Keatinge that has just been published.

When old institutions begin to seek for a new *assiette* it generally happens that extreme and impossible views and plans are put forth. And while freedom of discussion is a vital necessity in matters of common importance, it does not follow that all vagaries or individual caprices should be allowed forever a free rein.

> Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines
> Quos præterire nefas est.

Fr. Zocchi, editor of the *Civiltà Cattolica* writes this brochure in a spirit of sane conservatism; all that he says deserves attention. His language is throughout gentle and dignified, devoid of personalities, and breathes a proper Catholic spirit of charity. He agrees (p. 110) that the present movement towards what is known as positive theology will continue, "et même s'accélérera." Solidly critical texts will be introduced into the manuals of theology, a broader and more accurate erudition will be made accessible to its students, they

will be taught new and solid arguments. He does not believe that any radical change can be introduced into the methods of teaching theology, nor that it can ever cease to be eminently speculative,—otherwise it would lose its native dignity and *raison d'être.* He would not have it a mere history of doctrine, nor more or less a *catalogue raisonnée* of all heresies. It is by such treatment that philosophy has grown so positive that all substance has vanished from it. "Such a result would be a great misfortune for theology, at least for the theology that is based on the good old sane traditions of Catholicism." The ideas of Fr. Zocchi are more or less those of Fr. Fontaine in his two works on the actual conditions of theological study in France, likewise of Mgr. Turinaz, bishop of Nancy. He sympathizes very little with the movement of the "abbés démocrates" and the priests of Christian Socialism. The words of Leo XIII to the younger clergy "Prodire in populum in eoque salubriter versari" he interprets as supposing always that they shall remain true priests, men of apostolic spirit and virtues. In the theological seminary dogmatic and moral theology ought to be the principal studies. But as, by themselves, they would be "par trop pauvres et trop seules" some subsidiary sciences ought to be added, and they should be, ordinarily, compulsory on all. Thus, the theologian should learn Exegesis and Hermeneutic, with a smattering (teinte) of Hebrew, Canon Law, Sacred Eloquence and Liturgy, both of them in theory and in practice, Pastoral Theology, Ascetic Theology, and Sociology—at least some clear, solid and succinct notions of it. His omission of Church History is of course an inadvertence. He insists on a special professor for each study. Although he would not have the seminary undertake the creation of specialists, he holds that a certain percentage of learned priests is at once a blessing and an honor to a diocese.

The principal aim of the "little seminaries" is to teach Latin and Greek, with the native tongue. In the teaching of Latin he would not allow modern philology to substitute its purely grammatical method and interest for the old Catholic traditional devotion to composition, speech, erudition. "Le pretre ne doit pas déchoir de son antique honneur d'être pour tous le maître du latin" (p. 80). Scholastic philosophy, "in all its breadth and depth," the history and the literature of the fatherland, and a very solid and rational course of Christian Apologetics are also prominent requirements for the "little seminary." To these should be added some knowledge of the general principles and the applications of chemistry, natural history, and mathematics.

The brochure of Fr. Zocchi is thrown in the form of a commentary on certain documents of Leo XIII on the formation of ecclesiastics. It is not as definite and specific as the fine letters of Mgr. Le Camus and Mgr. Latty to their clergy on the renovation of the seminary studies. But it is well worth a careful reading and some close and prayerful reflexion. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Die Elemente der Eucharistie in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten. Von Dr. Aloys Scheiwiler. Mainz: Franz Kirchheim, 1903. 8°, pp. 183.

In his preface, the author informs his readers that Harnack's "Brot und Wasser, die eucharistischen Elemente bei Justin" first suggested the investigations of which the work now published gives the results. After submitting to a close analysis the texts of Justin whereon the Berlin professor's theory is founded, the author continues his researches in the other documents of the first three centuries that bear on the subject of the necessary eucharistic elements. The work has been accepted by the Faculty of the University of Freiburg in Switzerland as a thesis for the degree of Doctor in Theology. It will be serviceable to those who wish to keep in touch with the discussions to which Harnack's curious theory gave rise. We note at once a defect of structure in the work. The author in most instances merely gives references to important passages which the reader must have before him or fail to grasp the argument. Were these passages cited in an appendix, it would add considerably to the value of the book for those readers who have not at hand a collection of the early Fathers.

That bread and water were the only eucharistic elements deemed essential by Justin Martyr is the conclusion of Professor Harnack. From this fact it follows (1) that the primitive Church was indifferent as to the element of wine, and (2) that the institution of the Eucharist by our Saviour was originally so understood as though His benediction had reference to the commemorative meal, the simple eating and drinking, rather than to the elements of bread and wine.

What foundation, if any, is to be found in the writings of Justin in support of Harnack's theory? Seven references to the Eucharist are contained in the works of that Apologist. In two of these (Apol. I, 54 and Dial. 69) ὄινον was later substituted for ὄνον. The five remaining texts are found in chapters 65–67 of the First Apology. Two of these have no bearing on the question of the elements; of the three left καὶ χράματος in the first is an odd expression, wanting in an independent manuscript—the "Ottobonianus"—"luckily" thinks Har-

nack. From the two other texts ὄινον must also be expunged, because twice already as noted ὄινον (Apol. I, 54; Dial. 69) and once (Apol. I, 65) καὶ χράματος were "smuggled in."

The author concedes that in Dial. 69 and Apol. I, 54 the context demands ὄνον (an ass) not ὄινον (wine). Justin, in both places, is speaking of the Bacchic mysteries in which an ass (ὄνον) was introduced as sacred to this deity. The change of ὄνον into ὄινον was evidently the correction of a copyist who, ignorant of the relation of the ass to the mysteries of Bacchus, naturally associated the name of the convivial deity with ὄινον.

Harnack's reasons for rejecting καὶ χράματος from Apol. I, 65 and ὄίνον from the two passages in Chapters 65–67 are merely conjectures, not proofs. As Zahn has shown, the peculiarity of the expression καὶ χράματος is rather a proof of its genuineness than the contrary. Moreover, the Ottobonian manuscript proves little, since its text is faulty in the extreme. Nor can it be supposed without any grounds that ὄινον in the two passages under examination was interpolated. The changes from ὄνον to ὄινον already noted, admit of a natural explanation; here such is not the case. In chapters 65–67 the apologist is not speaking as a private individual; he explains, among other things, the Christian mode of celebrating the Eucharist, and the significance to Christians of this heavenly banquet. "The president of the brethren," he says, takes "bread and a cup of wine mixed with water," and "offers thanks at a considerable length" (Apol. I, 65). This food is called the Eucharist: no one is allowed to partake of it unless "he believes that the things which we teach are true," and has been "washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins." "For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these, but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour" . . . "we have been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His Word . . . is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh" (Apol. I, 67). Such was the manner of celebrating the Eucharist after the reception of neophytes. In chapter 67, the regular weekly celebration is described, and there also Justin speaks of "bread and wine and water" being brought to the president who "offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability."

To assume, without further grounds than those alluded to, that ὄινον in the passages quoted was interpolated proves that sometimes the texts are made to fit the theory rather than the theory the texts. Furthermore, the assumption that bread and water were sufficient in the celebration of the Eucharist contradicts the positive teaching of all the early Christian writers, Western and Oriental. The evidence

of many primitive Christian monuments and inscriptions is sufficient to demonstrate scientifically that the theory of Harnack is in every way untenable, a sheer hypothesis without any sufficient reason to justify it.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Deux Questions d'Archéologie Palestinienne—I. L'Eglise d'Amwas, l'Emmaüs-Nicopolis. II. L'Eglise de Qoubeibeh, l'Emmaüs de St. Luc.—avec deux plans, deux cartes topographiques et plusieurs gravures. P. Barnabé d'Alsace, O.F.M. Jérusalem: Imprimerie des PP. Franciscains, 1902. 8°, pp. 199.

With this interesting contribution to the famous Emmaus controversy, of which the reader will find a most thorough and impartial exposition in Vigouroux's "Dictionnaire de la Bible" (s. v. Emmaus), P. Barnabé seems to tip the scales decidedly in favor of Qoubeibeh. What had so far most strongly impressed most critics in favor of Amwas was the supposed existence of a Christian basilica in that locality at as early a date as the second or third century. After a thorough and strictly methodical exploration of the ruins of Amwas Père Barnabé has come to the conclusion that this supposition is most emphatically contradicted by the archæological data he has succeeded in establishing. The vast ruins of Amwas do not represent a church, but a Roman bath, probably the work of Hadrian. It was not until after the bath had been deserted—about A. D. 500—that a small portion of its ruins was utilized for the building of a Christian Church under the name of the Seven Machabees. This Church was rebuilt in the twelfth century, not by the Crusaders, as is generally assumed, but by the native Christians.

On the other hand, the recent rebuilding of the Church of Qoubeibeh has been the occasion of a careful examination of its ruins by several distinguished archæologists; and it has been placed beyond all reasonable doubt that the ruined Church had been originally so built as to enclose in one of its corners an old Jewish house, bearing the evidence of having been turned into a sanctuary prior to the building of the Church. It is but natural to conclude in the light of tradition that this must be Cleophas' house which, according to St. Jerome, was turned into a Church by the fact of our Lord having broken the bread there. The argumentation of P. Barnabé is clear, and, as far as we can see, convincing. We can but congratulate him, and the order of St. Francis as well, which through him has so far won a signal victory.

HENRY HYVERNAT.

Semitic Studies, edited by Richard J. H. Gottheil and Morris Jastrow, Jr. No. I. selection from the Annals of Tabari, edited with brief notes and a selected glossary by M. J. de Goeje. Leiden: late E. J. Brill, 1902. 8°, pp. xii + 73.

In the teaching of Oriental languages, more, perhaps, than in any other branch of university teaching, professors and students have had to suffer from the lack of appropriate text-books for the classroom. Chrestomathies are held at exorbitant prices, and granted that one such may suffice to carry the student through the elements of a language, it will fail to give him a definite idea of the style of any single author, or to arouse in him a love for the literature of that language. Moreover, rehearsing the same pieces with every fresh class of students is apt to become soon both irksome and demoralizing for the instructor.

The "Semitic Studies" series will obviate these several difficulties. Each number is to be complete in itself, and to represent the work of one author or one department of literature. The selections will be republished from the best extant editions, with a few extra notes in the more difficult passages and, here and there, references to standard grammars. A full glossary in English and German and, space permitting, in French also, will be appended to numbers dealing with Babylonian or Assyrian, Semitic Epigraphy, Post-Biblical and Rabbinical, Hebrew and Aramaic. For Arabic and Syriac numbers a selected list of words and phrases will suffice, suitable dictionaries having been published. It is the intention of the editors to publish such texts at frequent intervals and to put them on the market at very moderate prices. This first number (Arabic) contains a selection from the annals of Tabari by Professor M. J. de Goeje, taken from his own edition. The second (Assyrian), third (Hebrew), and fourth (Phœnician) numbers are in press or in preparation. Professors Gottheil and Jastrow deserve much credit for their undertaking and we have no doubt that their efforts will find full recognition at the hands of all scholars engaged in the teaching of Semitic languages.

HENRY HYVERNAT.

Der Biblische Schöpfungsbericht (Gen. I–II, 3) erklärt. Von Franz Kaulen. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. 93.

This opusculum is not a thesis leading to general conclusions concerning the origin and composition of the Hexameron. It is, on the contrary, a mere piece of exegetical work grounded on personal convictions and principles which the author serenely states in his introductory paragraphs. They can be summed up as follows:

The narrative of the creation of the world is evidently a fragment in the Mosaic work, or rather, a little work of itself worked into a larger one. But that matters little for the interpreter who, as far as he is concerned, has the right to place on a same footing all the parts of Moses' work, whether merely transcribed or composed by him. To attempt to investigate the origin of the information furnished by the Hexameron is superfluous. For it is evident that it must be part of the divine inheritance of mankind dating back from an age prehistoric as well as pre-Babylonian. In other words, that information was given to the first man by way of revelation. Consequently the interpreter must approach the Hexameron with the reverence that is due to revelation and confine himself to the application of the rules of Biblical Hermeneutic, expounding the purport of the text without attaching speculative possibilities to its different expressions.

A special warning is given with regard to the use to be made of experimental sciences. Their importance must be neither underrated nor overrated. The narrative of the Creation mentions things, beings which have continued in existence until our days and whose laws of existence have been discovered in course of time. We must take for granted that those laws have been in force from the very beginning of those beings; consequently, we *may not* understand any of the biblical expressions in a sense that would imply an organization of the world different from the one now in force.

Furthermore, the observation of natural phenomena has revealed to us a certain number of truths concerning the nature and natural differences of things; these truths we must take into account in the interpretation of the Hexameron, and look upon them as well established and undisputable facts. But there we must draw the line. We can observe the beginning, continuation, and end of things, not however, their becoming from or their returning to naught. Consequently, we must leave unexplained, both the origin of the matter from which the world was created, and that of the creatures that came into existence in those same worlds. Indeed, the Holy Scripture is our only source of information on that point. Hence, the interpretation of the Hexameron must proceed, without any supposition as to the origin of the world, in the light of the use of language of the Holy Scripture, or in the use of language of the people which has transmitted to us the narrative in question. Such are briefly the rules of interpretation as stated by Dr. Kaulen. It is not always easy to grasp the thought of the learned professor. A few examples to illustrate his views would have been welcomed by those readers who

have not had the privilege to hear them expounded at length from the Chair. Such as it is, this little treatise will be useful to the public at large. HENRY HYVERNAT.

The Blessed Virgin in the Nineteenth Century: Apparitions, Revelations, Graces. By Bernard St. John. London: Burns & Oates, 1903. 8°, pp. xv + 486.

Mary: The Perfect Woman. One Hundred and Fifty Rhythms in honor of the Mystical Life of Our Lady. By Emily Mary Shapcote. London: Manresa Press, 1903. 8°, pp. xxxii + 240.

This latter work, an epic in honor of the Mystical Life of the Mother of God, fully answers the question propounded by the author of the former, who in the preface to this work, quoting from Father Faber in regard to the lack of devotion in England towards the Blessed Virgin, asks: "Are these remarks more or less applicable now than when they were written?" Such a remarkable poem cannot fail to be convincing proof that a deep-seated devotion to the Mother of God does exist in some parts of England. Mr. St. John's work will be read with interest by every person who desires to learn about those manifestations which have merited for the nineteenth century the name of Mary's Century.

Les Persécutions et la Critique Moderne. Par Paul Allard. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1903. 12°, pp. 61.

Les Chrétiens Ont-Ils Incendié Rome sous Néron? Par Paul Allard. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1903. 12°, pp. 61.

L'Incendio Neroniano ed I Cristiani. By Attilio Profumo. Rome: 1903. 8°, pp. 26.

These three pamphlets are contributions to the already voluminous mass of literature on the Neronian Persecution. The reputation of the authors is a sufficient guarantee of the scholarship and thoroughness with which the subject is treated. The discussion raised in 1885 by M. Hochart, and renewed three years ago apropos of the "Quo Vadis" of Sienkiewicz, in regard to the treatment of the Christians by Nero has resulted in the complete vindication of those historians who maintain the authenticity of the passage of Tacitus (Annals, XV, 44) in which the sufferings of the first Christian martyrs of Rome are set forth.

Monasteries and Religious Houses of Great Britain and Ireland: With an Appendix on the Religious Houses of America. By Francisca M. Steele. London: R. and I. Washbourne, 1903. 8°, pp. xv + 267.

This book, a companion volume to the "Convents of Great Britain" by the same author, will be found useful as a work of reference regarding the Congregations of men in the British Isles and on the American Continent. It contains a summary of the history, character and object of more than sixty of these organizations. Their peculiar garb is in many instances illustrated by copies of photographs. The Dictionary of the Orders given as an appendix is marred by some omissions and some few inaccuracies.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

The Silesian Horseherd (Das Pferdebürla). Questions of the Hour Answered by Frederick Max Müller. Translated from the German by Oscar A. Fechter. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. 220.

In 1895 Professor Max Müller wrote an article for a German magazine on his reasons for desiring a recovery of "The True Word" of Celsus. He insisted at some length upon the quasi-necessity of the reintroduction of the "Logos" theory into the philosophic scheme of Christianity. Naturally, the article produced many criticisms, among them one that is certainly unique. It was a personal letter to Max Müller purporting to come from a German immigrant residing near Pittsburg, who signed himself "Das Pferdebürla," "The Horseherd." His letter is evidence enough of the truth of his own statement, "I am no learned fellow." Nor is he any more sane than learned; his writing is a violent tirade against the Christian religion. He damns all positive Christianity as "a false and lying tale," he "shudders at the inoculation of such error into the tender consciousness of our children," he raves about "the soul phantom," and "the hallucination of immortality," and incidently he gets a fling at the Chicago Parliament of Religions, and at "the gayly-dressed idolaters from Cardinal Gibbons down to the stupid Shinto priest and the ugly Baptist woman-preacher who sat together on the platform, and talked nonsense, and thought themselves wise," while indulging in the "religious claptrap" of a universal convention.

Why it should have ever occurred to such a man as Max Müller to notice such a coarse tirade would be a puzzle, except that the indignant "horseherd" abruptly challenged the Oxford savant to give a reason for the relics of the faith that were in him, demanding to know

why "Max"—so he presumes to name the venerable professor—still clung to "the God-fable," why he did not break free from the "prison-house" of Christianity and be really what he seemed to be logically, an atheist.

Recognizing the man's honesty, even in the midst of his stupidity, Max Müller conscientiously wrote out a full answer to him. The present volume has been built up on the documents that figured in this unusual incident; the original paper on "The True Word," the effusion of the "horseherd," the answer, and two or three other complementary essays, one on the professor's favorite theme—the mutual relations of language and mind, another on the "Reasonableness of Religion."

Altogether, the volume is an important one, in spite of the accident of its untoward beginning. It embodies a serious discussion of many vexed problems, not entirely belying its rather confident and pretentious subtitle, "Questions of the Hour, answered by Max Müller." Indeed, the questions involved, and the positions taken are so provocative of controversy, that we dare not attempt in the small space of a mere review to consider them. Suffice it to say that the volume is, in general, another indication of fast-and-free playing with orthodoxy, likewise of Max Müller's undeniable power of expressing his own peculiar and often incongruous views of the Christian religion.

JAMES M. GILLIS.

ST. THOMAS' COLLEGE.

Monumenta Ecclesiæ Liturgica ediderunt et curaverunt Ferdinandus Cabrol, Henricus Leclercq, Presbyteri et Monachi Benedictini ex Monasterio Sancti Michaelis de Farnborough. Volumen primum, Reliquiæ Liturgicæ vetusissimæ, sectio prima, Parisiis: 1902, prostat apud Firmin Didot. 4°, pp. ccxv + 276, 204.

These are the first instalments of what promises to be an invaluable work of reference to all future liturgical scholars. The names of the authors, Dom F. Cabrol and Dom H. Leclercq, are sufficient guarantee that the immense task they have undertaken will be accomplished in a manner wholly satisfactory from a scientific standpoint.

The entire work when completed is to consist of two parts. Of these, the first is subdivided into (1) *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ Vetustissimæ,* and (2) *Monumenta Technica.* In the portion allotted to *Reliquiæ* will be collected "quidquid ad veterem liturgiam pertinet" in the writings of the Fathers and hagiographers, in conciliar texts, epigraphical monuments, and in liturgies up to the ninth century. The first part of the first volume, comprising the two instalments

already issued, extends to A. D. 313. The texts are preceded by an excellent introduction of two hundred and twenty-five pages, consisting of treatises on (*a*) the prayers of the Didaché, (*b*) the relations between the Latin and Greek liturgies, (*c*) Tatian's Diatessaron, (*d*) early Christian inscriptions. An alphabetical epigraphical index is added.

Following the introduction (pp. 1–271) is a collection of 2,774 liturgical texts from the New Testament, the writings of the Fathers, and other ecclesiastical documents of the first three centuries. Each text is preceded by a title indicating its liturgical bearing, *e. g.*, 1647 Unctio.—Sic et in nobis carnaliter currit unctio. Tertullian de Baptismo, c. 7.

The third and last portion of the first section is made up of a collection of inscriptions (2,775–4,401), attributed to the first three centuries. Like the preceding epigraphic texts they possess, in the authors' opinion, some value to the liturgical student. Many of the texts thus gathered together with immense labor, have, apparently, no claim to a place under the title *Monumenta Liturgica*.[1] No doubt, however, the reasons for their selection will appear when the complete work is issued.

The next portion of the *Reliquiæ* to be issued will cover the period between the reigns of Constantine and Charlemagne in the Western Church, and that between Eusebius of Cæsarea and Photius in the Eastern. Following this, and completing the first subdivision, will appear the remains of the liturgical books both of the East and West: (1) Fragments, or most ancient versions of all the sacred books, Latin, Greek, Peschitto, etc.; (2) the Latin and Greek Psalter of the Ante-Nicene Fathers; (3) the Liturgy of St. Clement as found in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions; (4) excerpta from the liturgies of the Alexandrine Church, also from those of St. Mark and St. James; (5) sundry ante-Nicene fragments from the liturgical writings of Goar, Muratori, Mai, and others; (6) Tatian's Diatessaron; (7) liturgical books formerly received, such as the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, the treatise of pseudo-Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas; (8) the genuine Acts of the Martyrs; (9) the Book of Hymns; (10) the book of the exorcist; (11) the book of preparation for martyrdom; (12) the symbolicon or handbook of the rule of faith; (13) the ancient Liber Ritualis; (14) the most ancient Calendars or lists of martyrs; (15) lists of bishops and diptychs; (16) the Book of Homilies; containing several ante-Nicene fragments;

[1] E. g., Bono animo esto, Acme, nemo immortalis (3,448), and also nos. 3,450, 3,451, etc.

(17) collection of ante-Nicene symbols; (18) a list and brief description of pictures, cut stones, gems, sacred edifices in Rome and elsewhere; (19) fragments from the Martyrology of St. Jerome; (20) the liturgical learning of the post-Nicene Fathers and other remains of less importance.

Vast as the work thus far outlined is, it is only introductory. The second portion of Part I will contain the liturgical monuments properly so-called. These are divided into Latin and Oriental, embracing all the liturgies Eastern and Western, orthodox and heretical, and ending with the martyrologies and calendars.

Part II is to consist of indexes, glossaries, liturgical annals, with several appendixes on the codices; also geographical tables, itineraries, and a number of other subjects that aid in elucidating the various phases of liturgical development.

From the foregoing outline an idea may be obtained of the enormous scale upon which this important publication is planned. Were one not aware of the stupendous literary labors of the seventeenth century Benedictines, fears might arise as to the possibility of completing a work so vast; all apprehension disappears, however, on recalling the names of Mabillon, Ruinart, Germain, and other members of the congregation of St. Maur. The editors of the present work have already proved themselves worthy upholders of Benedictine traditions. Their services to the Church in the domains of archæology and liturgy have won deserved recognition; the successful accomplishment of their present important undertaking will give them additional claims upon all students of ecclesiastical institutions. By subscribing for the *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Liturgica* Catholic colleges and seminaries will give a practical proof of their interest in, and appreciation of, a most praiseworthy publication. MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Der Taufritus in der Griechisch-Russischen Kirche. Sein apostolischer Ursprung und seine Entwickelung. Von Dom Antonius Staerk, O.S.B. Freiburg (Breisgau): Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. xvi + 194.

Die Nestorianische Taufliturgie, ins Deutsche übersetzt und unter Verwertung der neuesten handschriftlichen Funde historisch-kritisch erforscht, von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich. Giessen: J. Rickert, 1903. 8°, pp. xxxi + 103.

1. This is a new and valuable contribution to our Western liturgical literature. Since in the oriental churches the sacrament of Confirmation is administered immediately after baptism, the author's investigation includes the ritual of both sacraments. Besides fulfilling the

primary purpose for which the work is intended, viz., a historico-critical exposition of the development of the present day Græco-Russian baptismal liturgy from the earlier oriental liturgies, it will prove almost of equal utility to students of dogmatic theology. The author contrasts the teaching of the Russian Church on several important questions, as reflected by contemporary Russian theologians, with that of the Catholic Church, and calls attention to the fact that, making allowance for differences of terminology, the agreement is often striking. An example in point is noted on page 63 relative to the baptism of adults. Russian theologians hold that "an adult who has neither faith nor penance receives the full grace of baptism, though this grace remains latent till his conversion." "Were this not so," says Provost Maltzew, "baptism would have to be repeated after conversion, which is not permissible, since baptism is a spiritual birth that like the birth of the body can take place only once in the life of the individual." Commenting on the passage our author says: "This teaching may be explained in the Latin terminology, by the grace of baptism *in radice*. Because of the character of the sacrament already received there is a *titulus qui exigit gratiam* which after the removal of the 'obex' becomes operative."

2. Dr. Diettrich has given us in these pages a German translation, with a historico-critical commentary of the Nestorian baptismal liturgy still in use. This is substantially identical with the baptismal rite introduced in the seventh century by the Patriarch Isoyahb III. As at present administered, the following ceremonial order is observed: (1) Imposition of hands and signing with oil outside the baptistery; (2) chanting of several psalms; (3) introduction of the water to be used in baptizing; (4) reading of selection from the Sacred Scriptures; (5) consecration of baptismal water; (6) anointing and baptism; (7) confirmation; (8) closing prayer; (9) desecration of the baptismal water. This last ceremony consists in the recital of a prayer that the water may be restored to its condition before consecration.

Condemned as heretics in the Council of Ephesus and persecuted by the Empire, the leaders of Nestorianism found a refuge in Persia. Their missionaries afterwards carried on an active propaganda throughout the Far Orient, where adherents of this sect are still to be found in the so-called Christians of St. Thomas on the Malabar coast of India. Dr. Diettrich's critical study of their peculiar baptismal rites should prove useful not only to students of liturgy but to all interested in the survivors of a religious body whose tenets occupy an important place in the history of the development of dogma.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Scienza e Fede e il loro preteso conflitto. La Critica della Scienza. Giovanni Semeria, Barnabita. Rome: Pustet, 1903. Pp. 32 + 326.

This new volume from the pen of the learned Barnabite, who has won distinction in so many fields of scholarship, is a critical and reconstructive study on the origin of the world and life cast in the mold of popular lectures, a flexible form of treatment which allowed the author to secure two qualities not usually found in combination, brilliancy of exposition and accuracy of thought. It is a companion volume to three historical studies already published.

The real progress made by human thought since the Middle Ages, says the author in the introduction, necessitates an advance beyond the view points and methods of Saint Thomas. For the old objective metaphysical method of treating problems must be substituted the new psychological, historical method which does not regard man as a disinterested thinking-machine, completely isolated from his fellow-men past and present, but endeavors to take into due account the many complex interests moral, æsthetic, practical and sentimental which serve to make thought a living concrete experience, not a hazy colorless abstraction into which neither general history nor personal dispositions are allowed to enter.

Appeal must be made to the entire personality of man, to the whole context of experience, if we may so speak, and not to a single faculty splendidly isolated from all others. The psychological climate in which some ideas thrive and others wither needs to be carefully studied; and a practical factor, such as that afforded by the plain demands of man's moral nature, should be introduced to control, if not to check, the tendency to capricious speculation. Science is no longer a special department of philosophy, and philosophy itself, to be acceptable, must pursue a more practical method and learn to submit to the healthy restraint of facts and life. For these reasons the author deplores the multiplication of manuals which resuscitate defunct methods, and repeat the wisdom of the ancients, adding neither to the quality nor the sum of human knowledge, but simply teaching the minds of our youth not to think either for themselves or for the age in which they live.

The first part of the work is expositive. The opening lecture discusses apologetic methods, old and new, outlines the rationalist method of the seventeenth and the agnostic method of the nineteenth century, and contrasts the Middle Ages whose science was philosophy with the modern era whose philosophy is largely science. Philosophy may no longer dwell in retirement apart from all contact with science;

it must leave its hermitage, and live among the living. For the two competing philosophies to-day, as hitherto in humanity's long yesterday, are the spiritual, which puts an animating soul of purpose into the vast body of events, and the materialistic for which the world is but bulky matter variously distributed in forms of motion.

With this picture of present conditions set clearly before the mind of the reader, the author proceeds in the second lecture to show the necessity of a complete change of front and method on the part of Christian Apologetic so as to meet objections face to face and not sidewise as hitherto. Apologetic should continue to be as relative as is error itself; else it will cease to be timed to the shifting attitudes of Christianity's opponents.

Nor can Apologetic afford to remain purely intellectual. The heart has its postulates as well as the head, and the voluntary, the moral, the energetic side of belief needs to be accentuated to-day and brought out into bolder relief, as Blondel and with him the French school of "immanence" have tried to show. The pressing question is to find a theory of life that will satisfy the ideals, demands, and interests of our moral, practical nature. The sceptic of old was an intellectualist pure and simple, a past master in the art of dialectical fence. Your modern sceptic is a practical individual who can get along quite well, thank you, with a working-theory of doubt and ignorance. Such a one must be met on grounds of his own choosing and must be convinced that his theory of systematic doubt is one in which the vital instincts of human nature and the concrete ideals of moral life can find neither due intellectual representation nor practical satisfaction.

The dilettanteism of such "franc-tireurs" as Renan and Heine has tried in vain to galvanize into life the corpse of ancient scepticism; and many manuals attack scepticism as if it were an ever-abiding abstract position capable of being undermined and blown up by syllogisms. Rather is it a practical persuasion which only the intense reality of our moral ideals can completely uproot, for the intellect is not privileged to make a wreck of life, or to suppress the great facts of morality and religion. Modern scepticism is psychological in origin. Psychology, not metaphysics, should make the first attempt to dislodge it.

The third chapter deals with the criticism of Kant, its genesis, development, and later ramifications, as well as the transfer of the problem of knowledge from the consideration of the objects of thought to an investigation into the nature of the thinking subject. It is a very sympathetic presentation, with searching criticism of Kant's

fatal isolation of thought from thing, and will from intellect, as an antidote to which an appeal to the entire working-personality of man is proposed by the author.

The fourth chapter is concerned with the Positivism of Comte, the fifth with the Agnosticism of Spencer, and the sixth with the relation of the doctrine of the Unknowable to Traditionalism, Mysticism, and man's moral and religious tendencies which compel the intellect to acknowledge an object that will satisfy their claims and to understand that object so far as possible, even if the knowledge thus gained be fragmentary and incomplete. From the practical point of view which the author has adopted these three chapters are vividly written. Effort is made to secure a place for the new Will-Philosophy of Professor James, and to use its results alongside those of the old Intellect-Psychology, so as to round out the latter.

The second part of the volume is given over to a discussion of methods whereby the erroneous views exposed in the first part may be successfully met. Materialism is a theory of reality and Positivism is a theory of knowledge; the former a final goal, the latter a method. Why not employ Positivism to refute materialism? Positivism itself would be moribund after such employment. It is at this point of the essay the author outlines his position regarding Theism. The existence of God is a popular fact supported by popular arguments. Philosophic reflection comes later on to deepen and correct the popular idea, or to doubt and reject it as the case may be; whence the respective views of Theism, Agnosticism, and Atheism.

The problem is, therefore, to rebuild, not to destroy the popular arguments; in other words to make popular Theism philosophical. The arguments of St. Thomas are good, but not sufficient to meet the dogmatic Agnosticism and Materialism of the present age which is endeavoring to replace the spiritualistic view of the world by a mechanical process of evolution. The latter inverts the pyramid of physical, biological, and psychic facts, and endeavors to stand it on its head. We must show that this inversion is not warranted by the known facts, but is due to the attempt of mechanical science to inflate itself to the dignity of a universal philosophy. Of itself, science is neither materialistic nor spiritualistic in its attitude. It is philosophy that eternally swings between the respective world-views of matter and mind.

The eighth chapter has for its object the methods to be employed in dealing with scepticism and brings out into prominence the fact that scientific certitude is not a pure affair of the intellect, but comprises practical elements that are of the will. The presence of these

voluntary elements even in scientific certitude is a vindication of the nature of religious belief which is not wholly a matter of intelligence. Science has its elements of faith as well as religion.

In the ninth chapter these reflections on the complex nature of certitude are applied to Theism, which, speaking religiously, does not consist in the cold, abstract affirmation of God's existence and is not merely a conviction of the intellect, but an energetic acceptation of God's actuality by man's entire thinking, willing, and feeling self. Intellect and will, though distinct, are solidary in their collaboration of spiritual truth. Kant was wrong in the separatist view he took of the working of these two faculties. And the agnostic distinction between religious and scientific conviction ceases to terrorize the mind which closes the breach thus arbitrarily opened between intellect and will. Once it is shown that there are intellective elements in religion as there are volitive elements in science, the agnostic isolation of religous certainty from all relationship with scientific is seen to be arbitrary.

This sound psychological conclusion, says the author in the tenth lecture, finds Christian confirmation in St. Paul who regarded the affirmation of God as man's moral duty, and the denial as moral sin. What St. Paul condemns as blameworthy is rather the failure to acknowledge God than the failure to know Him, St. Paul's contention being based on the fact that man knows God instinctively, but through the baseness of his heart allowed all reflex knowledge of Him to become corrupt and inefficacious.

As a practical conclusion to the foregoing considerations, the author takes the position that the proofs for the existence of God which are sufficient to claim rational assent can never make that assent intellectually necessary. In other words, we must not expect a mathematical demonstration. The author then turns to criticize and reconstruct the "quinque viæ" of St. Thomas, expressing his surprise that the Angelic Doctor should have omitted altogether the moral argument, an omission which should be instantly supplied. The ontological, cosmological, teleological, and moral arguments are next discussed in order, the intention being to show that the various roads to God over which humanity, with the rapidity of instinct, has travelled are the same as those over which critical theism is forced to crawl at a snail's pace, because of the many obstacles strewn across the path by those whose heart was never set upon the journey, or whose mental eye could discern nothing but darkness ahead, and inviting half-way houses by the roadside in which they chose to seek shelter with their doubts when the night of scepticism began to fall thickly around them.

The heart and the mind, therefore, by different avenues reach out into one and the same God who is the object of knowledge and the final goal of love. The author, always careful to distinguish the scientific elements of fact from the philosophic elements of theistic interpretation, admits the value of the traditional arguments when critically restated. He does not allow any force to the ontological proof when dialectically expressed as it was by St. Anselm, Descartes, and Leibnitz, but sees in it a good means of forming within ourselves a sublime ideal which might be called the after-glow of God in the life of the individual. The cosmological argument is reshaped so as to meet Kant's criticism. The demonstration of God's existence from motion is shown to proceed independently of the question whether the world had a beginning in time or not. The teleological argument is treated last, the vicious circle within which this proof is sometimes made to move being distinctly repudiated, and the difference between fact and interpretation carefully noted.

He bolsters up the latter argument by an appeal to will-psychology again, and holds that Theism as against Atheism is not an arid piece of reasoning, but partakes somewhat of the nature of a personal choice in which all man's faculties unitedly concur. The strength of the intellectual arguments for Theism is admitted but the intervention of the will is also recognized to dispel the last vestige of doubt that might possibly still cling to the mind of one who expected mathematical rigor of proof in affairs of religious certitude, or thought that inexorable logic could of itself disarm the atheist. The argument from purpose, like those from necessity, causality, and motion, only yields an aspect of the divine. It proves intelligence in the world and reveals one element of personality, but it has to be flanked and supported by the moral argument before we can discover unto ourselves the full list of the divine attributes which we finally reach by an analysis of our own moral self with its compelling ideals and freedom and unfulfilled aspirations.

The fifteenth lecture is a criticism of Pantheism, Atheism and Anthropomorphism. Polytheism of old tended to personify the forces of nature and to regard them as the effects of so many capricious wills. Science has dealt a death-blow to such a crude view by showing that nature is a coherent system of law. But science went to the other extreme in substituting a rigorous mathematical God of Law for the capricious God of the ancients. Spinoza could think God only in the terms of a mathematician dealing with quantity and limit. As a reaction against popular personification Spinoza served a useful purpose. But the living God demanded by our self-knowing and self-deter-

mining nature is the prime corrective of the popular extreme of anthropomorphism on the one hand, and impersonal law on the other. It is a study of our moral nature that purifies and saves our conception of a personal God.

Optimism and Pessimism are discussed in the sixteenth lecture. The metaphysical solution of the problem of evil proposed by St. Augustine is regarded as insufficient. It is only in the Christian world-view, which sees in metaphysical evil a means unto good and in moral evil a permissive economy out of which good is forever drawn, that the mind will finally discover rest for its worrying.

In fact, says the author, the Christian conception of the world should not be set over against the purely philosophic as if Christianity were a sort of codicil to Theism, and grace an appendix to nature; as if Christianity were a mere ornament to Theodicy, a sort of ell built on to the structure of human thinking. Rather should it be regarded as the complement, the desideratum, the implication of our subjective human needs. The modern world does not feel the necessity of two roads to one and the same point of objective. But what it does feel and can be made to understand is the present urgent necessity for more light than man has naturally. The attitude of the modern world is one of expectancy—it awaits the supernatural.

This volume is a refreshing modern study and absorbs one's interest from beginning to end. The author has stolen the vases of the Egyptians and brought them home with him to Israel, or, at least, a good part of the way thither. He has tried to win over to a Christian interpretation the results of modern scholarship and endeavored to put a livelier spirit into the science of Apologetic, to which he has made a distinct contribution concerning which, no doubt, opinions will vary.

The will-psychology of Professors James and Ward has not yet succeeded in winning many adherents in the English-speaking world, and it is too early to hazard a guess as to its capacity to survive. Its greatest danger is personalism as instanced in the case of Professor Ward of Cambridge, who holds that there are as many worlds as minds, and that each mind is an independent municipality. But Father Semeria has embarked upon no such sea of monadism as this; on the contrary, he has simply woven into his own scheme the element of truth that exists in the "will to believe," and rescued the facts from the danger of "personalism." He proceeds upon the fact of universal religion, and distinctly recognizes an intellective element in religious phenomena, which are not merely voluntary decisions of acceptance or rejection on the part of the individual. He regards

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

both intellect and will as jointly at work in the production of natural religious certitude, without denying the primacy of the intellect. He simply prefers to think in the concrete, and to call in the will as servant to the intellect whenever the latter seems to falter. We would, therefore, place him in the category of those rational and ethical theists who prefer to draw their arguments from two sources rather than from one.

We do not share the author's view concerning the employment of the word, Atheism, which he uses to designate Agnosticism. That these two tenets are frequently combined is no doubt true, but Agnosticism is primarily a theory of knowledge, and does not necessarily exclude belief in God. For scientific clearness these two terms should be kept distinct.

The author's advocacy of the newly proposed apologetic method of "immanence" raises many questions of detail into which he does not enter. As a subjectively disposing means to the acceptance of Christianity, its timeliness and value are assured. But it needs to be thought out in more detailed fashion, especially as regards its bearing on the doctrine that the supernatural is not due to nature, before it can be judged as a complete system, if it ever intended to be such. The author, we take it, is here as elsewhere, suggestively synthetic according to the spirit that animates all his pages. The standpoint of the Fathers is clamoring for recognition alongside that of the Schoolmen; history is ousting metaphysics from its exclusive primacy.

History and Psychology are to-day the most travelled roads of approach to problems which our fathers of the olden days reached by the easier paths of objective method. We can promise the reader an interesting and suggestive journey through the pages of this volume, in which warmth of heart combines with severity of criticism to make the old seem ever new, and the new a welcome companion to the old.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

A Manual of Mystical Theology or the Graces of the Supernatural life explained. By Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1903. 8°, pp. 664.

This is a companion volume to the author's recent work, "Manual of Ascetic Theology." It is divided into four parts: the first part treats of the nature of mystical theology in general, carefully distinguishing between the experimental and doctrinal aspects, as well as between mysticism true and false; also of contemplation in general, its division, objects, causes, and effects. The treatment is very complete, embodying the results of recent literature on the subject,

abounding in sound practical advice to pious souls who devote themselves to experiencing the sweets of the spirit, and exposing the theological principles which should govern the individual's contemplation.

The second part deals with the preparation and dispositions required for contemplation, namely,—prayer, meditation, mortification, and purification both active and passive. Many warnings are given to those who mistake a refined form of selfishness for growth in spiritual character; the relation of pain and comfort to true happiness is admirably discussed; in general, the treatment of this chapter of spiritual life, notably of the passions, shows the author to be a skilled physician of the soul who has not come by all his knowledge from books. The concrete treatment of the subject and the judicious appreciation of differing views afford decided relief from that atmosphere of heaviness surrounding some manuals which speak to an abstract individual and try to force interest by the incidental telling of stories.

The same tone of actuality pervades the treatment of the third part which is concerned with the various degrees of contemplation and conducts the reader from the first to the last degree of this sublime manner of prayer. The several degrees of recollection, silence, and quiet in prayer are vividly described, and an historical, critical judgment is passed on the errors and dangers of Quietism, which, like Luther's theory of salvation, consisted not in "holding on but in letting go." Then follow inquiries into the nature of mystical love, union, rapture, and the "connubium spiritale," which is a permanent state of union of the soul with God.

But perhaps the most distinguishing feature of this manual is to be found in its fourth part where the author treats of mystical phenomena distinct from contemplation, such as are, for instance, visions, divine words, revelations, prophecies, miracles. Here the opportunity for illusion is obviously very great and the need of criteria correspondingly imperative. Heroic virtue is the primary test of holiness; all things else are added to it, as was said of the kingdom of heaven. Whether or not the revelations, visions, and power of discerning the thoughts of others accorded to Mystics are to be carried over into the domain of the supernatural as readily as some of the author's quotations would lead one to suppose, the admonitions and directions which he summarizes in the last chapter are healthy-minded and needed. He is not writing a scientific treatise on psychology, but a practical manual for the guidance of souls.

It is a pleasure to recommend this work of Father Devine with all

the praise that it deserves for its clear descriptive features, its judicious insertion of dogmatic principles, and its helpful canons of spiritual discernment. It is not an easy matter to select materials for compression into a volume of this nature and to incorporate therewith the best results of recent study, critical and expositive. This manual will prove its value to those who read it, to many of whom, perhaps, the numerous sources upon which it draws, are closed.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Jesuit Education, its history and principles viewed in the light of modern educational problems, by Robert Schwickerath, S.J. St. Louis: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. 687.

Until the appearance of Fr. Schwickerath's work the average student of the history of Jesuit education was confined, among us, to the English translation of the Abbé Maynard's treatment of the subject (1855) and to Fr. Hughes' "Loyola" in the Great Educators Series (Scribners, 1892). The works of de Rochemonteix on the Collège de la Flèche (1889), Fr. Chossat on that of Avignon (1896), and the defence of Jesuit Education by De Badts de Cugnac (1879), together with the translation and commentary of the Ratio Studiorum by Fr. Duhr in the ninth volume of Herder's "Pædagogische Bibliothek" (1896), about completed the special bibliography of the subject. Of course, there were Fr. Pachtler's four volumes in the "Monumenta Germaniæ Pædagogica" (1887–1894), in which were made accessible the documents pertaining to their colleges in Germany, and since 1894 the voluminous Madrid publication of the "Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu." But the industrious compilers of the many new manuals of the history of education that have been lately put on the market seem to have little inclination to work at first hand. Most of them are non-Catholic and content themselves with a repetition of the violent and unreasonable diatribes of a von Raumer and a Compayré. Even where there was ground for reasonable difference of opinion as to method, instruments, equipment, and the like, an anti-Catholic bias always asserts itself under cover of a general denunciation of the Jesuits. Slipshod and uncontrolled quotations, ignorant and ridiculous use of Catholic terminology, helpless dependence on some fanatical Huguenot or embittered Kulturkaempfer, a kind of frenzy, are only too often noticeable in these books. We might, perhaps, take such literature in the philosophical spirit of Dante's Vergil, and bestow upon them but a passing glance. But the evil they do in the ranks of our Catholic students in High Schools, Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges, where they

are formal and compulsory texts, forbids us to do so. Hence, the work of Fr. Schwickerath has not come too soon. The Society owed it to itself and to Catholic youth to produce such a treatise.

The work is divided into two parts: the history of the educational system of the Society, and an exposé of the principles of its teaching theory and practice. After an introduction of about seventy pages on the condition of schools and learning just before and at the Reformation, Fr. Schwickerath devotes some two hundred pages to the original establishments or colleges of the Society, the content of the "Ratio Studiorum" of 1599, the story of the colleges from 1540 to 1773, the date of the suppression of the Society by Pope Clement XIV. The revision of the "Plan of Studies" in 1832, the educational work of the Society in the nineteenth century, and a chapter of answers to miscellaneous objections, complete the first part. In the second section are discussed the adaptability of the "Ratio Studiorum," its intellectual scope, the question of elective courses, the value of classical studies, the usual classical texts of a Jesuit college, the training of the Jesuit teacher and the method of his teaching. In four concluding chapters, our author deals with moral training, religious instruction, and school management, among the Jesuits, and the motives and ideals of a Jesuit teacher. A very useful bibliography and a good index add to the value of the book.

Fr. Schwickerath has rendered a good service not only to Catholic teachers and students, but to a very large body of non-Catholic scholars who have long been anxious to read at first-hand and from a competent source an account of the educational theory, praxis, and history of the Jesuits. As is often the case with Catholic writers, the apologetic and occasional character of the task imposes on him certain limitations and peculiarities of treatment. It would be unjust not to make note of this. Nevertheless, he has succeeded in presenting within reasonable limits a compact and readable introduction to the history and the principles of education as exemplified in the colleges of the Jesuits in the last three hundred and fifty years. The exposition of the author is clear and direct, his diction is calm and philosophical, in spite of the atrocious slanders that he is often called on to refute. Even those who, rightly or wrongly, differ from him on certain points will recognize in him an adversary no less courteous and modest than well-equipped. At this date, and amid our surroundings, it ought to be possible to speak well of the "Petites Ecoles" without calling for the expulsion of men who served the state of France as well, perhaps better, than ever did the dreamers and visionaries of Port-Royal. It ought to be possible to admire the unparal-

leled devotion and long career of success that extorted from Francis Bacon a cry of approval for the schools of the Jesuits without swearing blindly that they alone know how to develop the germs of virtue and learning in the breasts of the young. We believe that this is the spirit, moderate and equitable, of the work of Fr. Schwickerath, and as such we commend it to all students of the history of education. It deserves a place in every library, Catholic and non-Catholic, as an honest account, written at first hand, of what the education of the Jesuits stands for.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The English Church. From the Accession of Charles I to the Death of Queen Anne (1625–1714). By Rev. William H. Hutton, B.D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 368.

In his preface the author says that he has considered directly only the "history of the historical church in England" because in no other way was it possible to "present at all truly the history of the English Church as the English Church saw it." It is to be regretted that he has so restricted the field of vision. A different plan would certainly enable us to understand better the Anglicanism of that era by presenting it in its relations with other religious bodies and thereby giving more perspective to the work. It would also have eliminated some of the author's only too evident narrowness and enlivened, likewise, the monotonous tediousness of the history which fairly revels in those details of petty controversy about religious accidentals so dear to the heart of the average Anglican minister.

It is to all appearances fully up to the mark of scholarship demanded in a work of this importance. If anything, it is too learned, in the sense that the author does not seem to have always been able to digest his learning, and so is at times downright boresome. But, despite its learning, it is hopelessly Anglican in tone. While not abusive of religious beliefs contrary to his own, and in general rather temperate in language, the author, nevertheless, seems incapable of estimating anything or anybody except from the narrow standpoint of Anglicanism. With tiresome persistency he reiterates the terms "Romanist, Papist" when referring to Catholics, thereby proving that he has not advanced in this respect beyond the narrow coarseness of the Anglicanism of the age he depicts. His reference on page 43 to Catholics as "schismatics" from the "Church of England" is deliciously naïve. All along he makes a persistent effort to prove that the Anglicanism of that day was tolerant. It was in his eyes the "protector of intellectual freedom" (p. 89). He will find himself singularly alone in holding that extraordinary proposition.

The poor Puritans come in for worse handling even than Catholics. The cause of the grudge against them being that they decapitated "Saint Charles I" and did divers other unpleasant acts to the discredit of Anglicanism. We can only remark that if Puritans persecuted Anglicans they were paying back an old score. Our author's complaints about this same persecution become rather suspicious when we read that more than one of the persecuted Anglican ministers was allowed by the Puritans to live not only in peace but even in open luxury.

This narrow Anglicanism of the author has the effect of rendering his work excessively tiresome. Verily, courage is needed to wade through the mass of petty details accumulated by his learning. No doubt the narration will prove absorbingly interesting to all good Anglicans of leisure, but the reader who has the misfortune to be a "Romanist" or "Papist" or "schismatic from the Church of England" or otherwise addicted to the "superstitions" of the same will find it about as interesting as the small talk of a Ladies' Sewing Gild.

On the whole, then, this history, despite its evident learning and seriousness, strikes us as distinctly inferior to most of the other volumes of the series of which it is a companion. It is hopelessly dull in treatment and offensively Anglican in tone.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

NOTRE DAME COLLEGE, BALTIMORE.

A History of England for Catholic Schools. By E. Wyatt-Davies, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. xv + 539.

England's Cardinals. By Dudley Baxter. London: Burns and Oates, 1903. 8°, pp. 98.

1. The character and scope of this work are sufficiently indicated by the title. As a contribution to the literature of English History it would undoubtedly attain a permanent place had the author seen fit to provide his readers with a sufficient bibliography or at least supplemented his statements with notes and references. The story of England from the time of the Roman occupation down to and including our own times is told with clearness and impartiality. Too much cannot be said in praise of the way the publishers have done their work, a most commendable feature being the headings of paragraphs in heavy type. In a book containing so many excellent features and serving such a useful purpose, it might seem invidious to point out faults. A more thorough examination of some matters

would no doubt have led the author to modify some of his statements, as for instance, in regard to the Bull *Laudabiliter*. In view of the fact that so many historians look with doubt on this supposed transfer of Ireland to the English Crown by Pope Hadrian IV, and that others deny absolutely the authenticity of the Bull by which this grant was effected, it might naturally be expected that the author would do otherwise than state the case as an undisputed fact, or if he has any new evidence on the subject that he would adduce it or refer to it.

2. The thirty-four short chapters which form this little book contain in chronological order brief biographies of the Englishmen who have attained to the dignity of the Cardinalate. A more lengthy and scholarly work along the lines indicated by Mr. Baxter would be heartily welcomed by students of English Church History.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Carmina Mariana. Second Series. An English Anthology in verse in honor of and in relation to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Collected and arranged by Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Burns and Oates, 1902. 8°, pp. liv + 528.

The dissemination of photographs and prints of the great masterpieces of painting and sculpture has demonstrated the extent to which the Blessed Virgin Mary has been a source of inspiration to artists of all schools and in all ages. It has remained for Mr. Orby Shipley to reveal how largely the same theme has occupied the thoughts and inspired the efforts of poets. To one unacquainted with the subject, as most persons in the English-speaking world were before Mr. Shipley published the result of his labors in collecting these poems, it is almost incredible how many writers have striven to give expression to the glories and the prerogatives of the Mother of God. Not the least gratifying feature of the work is the proof it affords that others besides Catholics have hymned the praises of Mary; but whether from Catholic or non-Catholic pens the verses are all touched with the same pure fire and glow with the same clear light. Many of the pieces were written by Americans, stray verses culled from the pages of magazines or from the works of well-known authors. The compiler who has already deserved so well from the English-speaking world for having made known these tributes to the privileges and gifts of the Mother of God, promises in a forthcoming volume a third series of "Carmina." No books have been issued from the press in recent years more deserving of a place in the library of a Catholic than these two volumes of devout and elevating verse.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Socialism By David Goldstein, edited by Martha Moore Avery. Boston: Union News League, 1903. Paper, pp. 374.

The author of this work was, until the present year, an active worker in the socialist party in Massachusetts. He gave up his allegiance to socialism and he has since begun an active campaign against it. This volume is in intention a severe arraignment of socialism; in form it is not "a piece of literature but a compendium of socialist data, which it is hoped will be found useful in acquiring the necessary knowledge to meet and to turn back the activity of socialist propaganda." The main chapters of the book deal with such subjects as the Materialist Doctrine of Socialism, Origin of Socialism opposed to Christianity, Socialist Tactics, Public Ownership, Evolution, Morally Irresponsible, Political Atheism, Free Love, Homeless Children, The State, Trade Unions. Taking up these and the other sections of the book in turn, the author presents copious extracts from the socialist press, literature, leaders, and records events all of which lead the reader to the conclusion that "on the destructive side socialism stands for the abolition of the present educational, religious, family, social and economic forms of society." The volume is made up very largely of these extracts from writers, from the press of socialism and from narration of some striking events in its recent history. It thus has a value which is quite distinct from the author's personality and from his relations to the socialist party. We have in the book probably the most serious indictment that has been made against socialism in the United States. It will be interesting to note the attitude of the socialist press to it. The author might have added to the value of his work, had he told us whether or not he knows of any kind of socialism that is not atheistic and anti-family, also to what extent the particular party which he attacks, is representative of all socialism. The confusion of accusation and denial that opponents of socialism everywhere meet, and our personal acquaintance with numbers of socialists who do not stand for atheism and free love, suggest that an accurate classification be made before we define our attitudes. The author of this book should be able to give this information. His volume will serve to call attention to the great danger that lies in socialism and it will also instruct many as to the real purpose of the type described.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

Christian Apologetics. By Rev. W. Devivier, S.J. Preceded by an Introduction on the Existence and Attributes of God and a Treatise on the Human Soul by Rev. L. Peeters, S.J. Edited, augmented and adapted to English readers by Rev. Joseph C. Sasia, S.J. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet and Co. 2 vols. 8°, pp. xiii + 207; 784.

Christian Apologetics. By Rev. W. Devivier, S.J. Edited by Rt. Rev. S. G. Messmer, D.D., D.C.L. New York: Benziger. 8°, pp. 583.

The "Cours d'Apologétique Chrétienne" by Fr. Devivier has had a remarkable success in Belgium and France. Though published but eighteen years ago, it has already run through sixteen editions. Many distinguished bishops of France and Belgium have given it their hearty recommendation. The secret of its success lies doubtless in the fact that it gives in a compendious form a comprehensive, methodical and at the same time popular, exposition of the divinity of the Christian Religion realized in the Catholic Church, along with the refutation of many objections that are being constantly urged against Catholic belief at the present day. It is written in an easy style, and with a simplicity that commends itself to the lay reader of average intelligence, untrained in the language of the schools.

The original work consists of two parts. In the first part the author has in mind to prove the divinity of the Christian religion. The first two chapters form a useful introduction to the proof proper. In the first chapter after a concise explanation of what is meant by religion and revelation, he outlines briefly the three historical stages of revealed religion, and sets forth the nature of faith and the rôle of reason in leading the mind to the acceptance of revealed truths including mysteries. Chapter II deals with the historic value of the Bible, the authenticity, integrity and veracity of the Pentateuch and of the Gospels. Apropos of the former, he shows that the Bible rightly interpreted is in harmony with the accredited results of scientific research in geology, astronomy, biology, paleontology, and anthropology. Nor does he fail to call to mind that modern discoveries in Egypt and Assyria have helped in no small degree to confirm the trustworthiness of the sacred narrative.

Then follows in Chapter III the demonstration of the divine origin of the religion founded by Jesus Christ. After a short but lucid discussion of the nature and evidential value of well attested miracles and prophecies as criteria of revelation, he gives ten reasons for accepting the Christian religion as divine, (1) the miracles of Our Blessed Lord, (2) His resurrection, (3) the fulfilment in His person

and mission of the Messianic prophecies, (4) the miracles wrought by the followers of Jesus, (5) the fulfilment of predictions made by Jesus, (6) the wonderful growth and preservation of the Christian religion, (7) the testimony of the martyrs, (8) the profound influence of Christianity on society, (9) the sublime teachings of Jesus, (10) the incomparable holiness of Jesus. Following this as Chapter IV, but to all intents and purposes, as a further proof of the supernatural character of Christianity, is a succinct demonstration of the divinity of Jesus Christ. In treating of the sublime teachings of Jesus, the author takes occasion to set forth the immense superiority of Christianity over heathen religions, particularly Buddhism.

The second part is a vindication of the claim of the Roman Catholic Church to be the true Church of Christ. The manner in which this thesis is set forth in the first three chapters is similar to what is found in the ordinary manual of theology in use at the present day. Having given a sufficient explanation of the terms *church* and *society*, the author proceeds to show that Christ established His religion under the form of a true society, characterized by the four marks of unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity, and that these marks being verified in the Roman Catholic Church, stamp it as the true Church of Christ to the exclusion of the Protestant and Schismatic Greek Churches. The discussion of the primacy of Peter and its perpetuity in Peter's legitimate successors, the bishops of Rome, leads to the consideration of the prerogatives of the Church—indefectibility, authority, infallibility—whereupon two articles are devoted to an exposition of the relative rights of Church and State and of the attitude of the Church towards liberalism and freedom of worship.

The last two chapters of Part II deal with topics of especial interest and importance. Chapter IV is devoted to the refutation of objections against the Catholic Church, based on the alleged intolerance of the Church, the Inquisition, the trial of Galileo, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Crusades, Papal power over temporal rulers in the Middle Ages, the temporal power of the Popes, unworthy occupants of the Holy See.

Finall, Chapter V treats of the debt which civilization owes to the Catholic Church. This is practically an elaboration of the eighth proof already given in support of the divinity of the Christian religion, namely, the profound influence of Christianity on society. An instructive contrast is drawn between the state of Greek and Roman society under the incubus of paganism and that which resulted from the influence of the Catholic Church wherever it became dominant. To show how widely and how deeply the Church has benefited Chris-

tianized peoples, the author portrays the wonderful amelioration of the individual, of the family, of public society, of international relations, as well as the beneficent influence of the Church on the development of letters, science, and the fine arts, and on popular and university education.

The field is, of course, too vast to be treated with profundity or even thoroughness by a single writer within the compass of the four hundred and seventy-five pages that are comprised in the French editions. Fr. Devivier attempts no originality of treatment. His task is that of a popular compiler. In this he has been, in the main, successful, but in the treatment of some questions he falls short of the general standard of excellence. For example, his attempt to make good the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is anything but satisfactory. In relying on the day-period interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis and ignoring more recent methods of harmonizing scriptural with scientific cosmogony he could not hope to meet the approval of his distinguished brother-Jesuit, Fr. Hummelauer. Only one unmindful of the abundant literature of Protestantism in hymn and sermon could argue as he does in order to disprove the possession by Protestant churches of the note of sanctity. In these and a few other instances one misses the breadth of view that should characterize the apologist at every step, for his work is to set forth the truth of the Catholic Church in a way to lead even the prejudiced mind to recognize its reasonableness.

Such in brief, is the original work, which, by a curious coincidence, has been published this year in an English translation by two independent editors. Both editors have sought to make the book more valuable for English readers by giving in each chapter and article copious references to works in English treating of the particular topic under discussion. Both have likewise added at the end a very complete alphabetical index, a feature lacking in the original. But while Bishop Messmer has contented himself with setting forth the text in English garb just as it stands in the original twelfth edition, Fr. Sasia, animated by the laudable desire to make the work still more useful, has increased its contents very considerably. The most noteworthy addition is the translation and amplification of the treatise of Fr. Peeters, S.J., on the "Existence and Nature of God and the Spirituality and Immortal Destiny of the Human Soul." This forms a very useful introduction to the text of Fr. Devivier and takes up two hundred and seven pages numbered in brackets.

But this is not all. Fr. Sasia has also inserted through the work

of Fr. Devivier many pages of matter partly from his own hand, partly culled from Catholic books, pamphlets and newspapers. Most of this additional matter is excellent and helps the lay reader to answer many difficulties not touched upon in the original. In a few of these additions, however, as for example in the criticism of Christian Science (Vol. I, pp. 306 ff.) the flippancy of newspaper style is not in keeping with the dignified tone pervading the rest of the book. Again, in an apologetic work additions of a polemical nature might well be omitted, such as the ancient strictures of Thomas Ward on the errata of the Protestant Bible (Vol. II, pp. 753–762), the more so as the Revised Version—barring its omission of the Deutero-canonical books—places in the hands of Protestants a translation of the Scriptures that for accuracy of scholarship makes one sigh for a Catholic version to match it.

In thus enlarging the contents of the book, Fr. Sasia would have done well had he given indications with brackets or a different kind of type whereby the reader might readily distinguish the editor's additions from the original text of the author. The need of some distinguishing sign is the more felt since, at least in one place, portions of Fr. Devivier's text have been omitted and other paragraphs substituted, without notice that the text has been altered. This, of course, has been done in perfect good faith and with the view of improving on the original. Yet, one may well ask whether the alteration is for the better.

The place in question may be found in Vol. I, pp. 76 ff. of Fr. Sasia's edition, where the transformist theory of the origin of man is discussed. A comparison of this section with the French text or with the corresponding section in Bishop Messmer's edition (pp. 99 ff.) shows that a decided change has been made.

Fr. Devivier, whose treatment of debated questions raised by modern science is characterized by a cautious conservatism, handles the question of evolution in a rather gingerly manner. He does not come out squarely and declare—as he might well have done—that the position taken by many Christian evolutionists, including not a few Catholics, that the derivation of the human body by descent from a lower ancestral animal form, is compatible with orthodox Christian belief. Neither, on the other hand, has he committeed the mistake made by some apologists of condemning it as irreligious and unchristian. What he does declare to be false and inadmissible from the standpoint of Christian faith is the arbitrary assertion of some evolutionists speaking no longer as scientists but as philosophers, that the moral

and intellectual, no less than the physical status of man is the result of a purely natural development from a similar ancestry.[1]

Before proceeding to overthrow this false position, Fr. Devivier makes a few preliminary explanations well worth noting. He warns the reader that he should "beware of confounding *special systems* pursued too often for an impious and materialistic end with the *general conception* of transformism. The falseness of preconceived anti-religious systems does not necessarily involve the condemnation of the transformist theory itself."

Then after speaking of the remarkable transformations that are produced by artificial breeding as well as by influences of climate, food and environment, he asks whether natural influences, which in the beginning would have been more powerful owing to the greater plasticity of organisms, might not have sufficed to produce by development from an initial type the present variety of species. "We have not to examine this question scientifically," he goes on to say. "Our duty is only to examine whether this theory of transformism . . . is or is not contrary to Catholic teaching.

"We should unhesitatingly answer No if it were a question of plants and animals to the exclusion of man" (cf. Bishop Messmer's edition, p. 100).

These preliminary considerations we miss in Fr. Sasia's edition. It is scant compensation for their absence to be treated to a series of citations of writers rejecting evolution in all its forms, citations which a generation ago, when collected by Cardinal Mazella, were not without authoritative force, but which are practically worthless to-day when the great majority of biologists favor some form of evolution. Nor does it help matters to quote St. George Mivart whose condemnation of Darwinism cannot be understood as a condemnation of transformism in general.

But apart from this, neither Darwinism, nor any other form of the theory of organic evolution, so long as it is kept within its legitimate sphere of biology proper, is antichristian any more than is the hypothesis of Laplace which, at first reprobated as godless, now finds a place of honor in almost every work of Catholic apologetics. The Catholic apologist does not think of attempting to refute this hypothesis so highly esteemed by astronomers. Why then should he show so much hostility to the evolutionary hypothesis, which is equally reconcilable

[1] By an act of inadvertence, Bishop Messmer's translation has failed to note in the sentence of Fr. Devivier condemning this theory a phrase essential to the thought. The original should be translated: "This theory which includes man himself *together with his spiritual soul* in the series of evolutions, is absolutely false and inadmissible." Unfortunately the words in italics are lacking in Bishop Messmer's edition (p. 100).

with sound philosophy and faith and which, despite the attempts of apologists to refute it, holds the foremost place of honor in modern biological science?[1]

But these criticisms which apply partly to the original work, partly to Fr. Sasia's edition, cannot, and are not meant to detract materially from the many excellent qualities that his American edition possesses. As has already been said, Fr. Sasia's additions have greatly increased the usefulness of the original. It was a matter of no small industry and painstaking to collect this material from so many different sources and arrange it in the proper places. The two fine volumes are a permanent witness to his laudable zeal to further the cause of truth. Both his edition and that of Bishop Messmer deserve a generous recognition from the Catholic public.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell. By Roger Bigelow Merriman. With a Portrait and Facsimile. Vol. I, pp. viii + 442. Vol. II, pp. iv + 356. 8°. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.

It is, perhaps, true that a fuller comprehension of the complicated history of the early Reformation period can be obtained from a close study of the lives of the great men who directed it than from a more general study of the conditions which they controlled. Because it was an age, primarily, when the individual counted much more as a force than now; above all because it was an age of royal absolutism in which the voice of the people counted relatively little.

Such a view seems warranted by a perusal of this excellent biography of a man to whom, more than even to Henry VIII, the English Reformation owes its existence. Perhaps the latter would have occurred anyhow; almost anything might have happened in that time of upheaval. But the author makes it clear that de facto the English Protestant Church was fathered by Thomas Cromwell. He it was who suggested the break with Rome. Its consequences, devised to secure the King in his new position, all bear the "stamp of the sinister genius of Cromwell."

But it is equally clear that he acted thus from no predilection for Protestantism. Religion with him was a purely indifferent thing in itself. He would have become a Mahometan if that could have served his ends. To him, therefore, Protestantism was merely the means to a purely political aim—namely, the advancement of his own fortune

[1] In the excellent work of the Sulpician Abbé Guibert, entitled, "In the Beginning" (Chapters II and III) may be found a succinct discussion of the theory of evolution from the Christian standpoint that for fairness and lucidity surpasses anything to be found on the subject in works of Catholic apologists.

by exalting the royal power into a despotism. He was a type of his age, a type "that profoundly influenced Protestantism, but to which theological issues were either a mere nothing or else totally subordinate to political considerations." His guiding principles were those of his favorite author Machiavelli—absolutism in state, subjection of Church to State, love of morality only as something useful or practical.

By so clearly understanding his age and catering to its immoral principles he rose to be the foremost champion of Protestantism in England and the foremost man in the state after the king. And it is characteristic of his age that he fell by the very logic of its and his own principles. His aim was to make the king supreme, a despot, removing obstacles in his way with cold-blooded cruelty. By the very logic of history, therefore, he fell when his own self, his own blundering foreign policy, became obstacles in the path of a despot, the Frankenstein of his own creation.

In support of this view the author marshals an array of documentary evidence which one must be over cautious to resist. Here and there he speculates, but in general he supports his thesis with unquestionable authorities and is, on the whole, convincing.

As a biography, his work is often faulty. The chapters on Cromwell's early life and the foreign relations of England are perhaps unnecessarily detailed and thereby tedious reading, though it should be borne in mind that the book is evidently not intended for the masses.

The historical tone is excellent. The author so consistently adopts an objective manner of treating this delicate period of history that it is hardly possible to make out his religious convictions. Occasionally (pp. 229, 309, 306) he drops expressions which might suggest that at least he is not a Catholic. But whatever be his faith, he has written a biography which is a model for all writers touching upon this age of history so fraught with religious controversy. He gives us facts honestly as he sees them, without bigotry. As such, his volume will prove a valuable and pleasing contribution to the history of the English Reformation. Had historians in the past written its history with the same objective candor as this is written, we of to-day would not only understand that same history better, but we would also understand ourselves and our religious difficulties far better than is unfortunately the case.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

NOTRE DAME COLLEGE, BALTIMORE.

Christianity and Modern Civilization, Being Some Chapters on European History with an Introductory Dialogue on the Philosophy of History. By William Samuel Lilly. St. Louis: B. Herder. 8°, pp. xx + 374.

The intelligent broad-minded Catholic will hail this book with delight. It is a series of admirable essays, written to show how much modern civilization owes to the religious and ethical principles inculcated by our Divine Savior and extended by the Catholic Church with even greater effectiveness to the manifold duties of practical life.

To those who are already familiar with Mr. Lilly's "Chapters in European History," now out of print, and who have read his contributions of late to the *Nineteenth Century,* these chapters will present little that is new. The "Age of the Martyrs" is the only essay in this collection that has not heretofore been published. But no one will regret seeing those beautiful essays, "The Christian Revolution," "The Turning-point of the Middle Ages," and "The Age of Faith," once more retouched and given to the public grouped in orderly sequence with the others no less admirable, "The Nascent Church," "The Age of the Martyrs," "The Inquisition," and "Holy Matrimony."

One might wish that the introductory chapter, "What can History Teach Us?" had been recast in the form of the chapters that follow. The subject matter is excellent, but is too serious and erudite to be delivered in the form of a conversation between the three colorless worthies, Grimston, Luxmoore, and Temperly. Such stiff, pompous dialogue is hardly true to life.

But when we enter into the succeeding chapters we find Mr. Lilly at his best. We listen with delight as he portrays the characteristic features of the new religion taught by Christ and shows how its development was profoundly influenced by such great souls as St. Paul, St. Augustine, and Gregory the Seventh. We are told in the fine, comprehensive chapter, "The Age of Martyrs," how in virtue of spiritual life the "gospel was expanded into the Church" by the rapid development of its dogma, ritual and polity. We see in the later chapters how the Church sought to safeguard the integrity of Christian faith by the Inquisition and how it elevated the moral standard of society by its lofty conception of matrimony. In all this we have an example of high-class apologetics, the mature thought of a profound student of Christian history and of a firm believer in the Catholic Church as the true Church of Christ. He notes with the accuracy of a trained historian the marked ethical progress that has been an important element in the development of Christianity from

its early days down to the present. He does not make the mistake, so common to apologists, of trying to show that the policy of Church authorities of the past has always been in harmony with the highest ethical standard. No fair-minded Catholic can read his chapter on the Inquisition without feeling that, however justifiable this institution was from the point of view of the times, it is good both for humanity and religion that, like slavery, it has passed away never to return.

The material dress in which these essays appear is in every way worthy of their contents. The type is large and beautiful, the paper of excellent quality and surprising lightness. It is a model of the latest style of bookmaking.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Die Heilsnotwendigkeit der Kirche nach der altchristlichen Literatur bis zur Zeit des hl. Augustinus. Dr. Anton Seitz. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1903. Pp. 8 + 416.

The necessity of the Church as a divinely appointed means of salvation forms the subject of this volume which is a profusely documented study of early Christian literature down to the time of St. Augustine. It is especially timely in view of current attempts to substitute ethical culture for dogmatic Christianity, to replace the public and authoritative teaching-body of the Church by the private judgment and decision of the individual. How shall the exclusiveness of the Church be reconciled with the elementary requirements of Christian tolerance and charity? What means of salvation were formerly and are still available for those not in communion with the Church of Christ?

The solution of problems so fundamental as these, says the author in the preface, is not to be reached *a priori*, but by research and historical investigation. The spirit of early Christianity must be studied in all its manifestations and care should be taken not to read our own prepossessions into the texts. It is only in this wise that the history of dogma can be scientifically written and the mind of the Fathers be made clear to those of a later age. To this end the author prefers to allow the early writers to speak for themselves in answer to the questions which he shall propose. Whatever sources contain material directly bearing on this theme are brought together and collectively expressed, in order that the full drift of their contents may be made apparent. Individual sources are studied first in themselves, afterwards in the light of the total material to which they belong. This method of systematic presentation enables the author to avoid the

danger of collecting and distributing only such material as would serve a foregone conclusion, preserves the scientific character of his work, and brings out into relief its practical significance for contemporary thought.

An artificial severance of truth and morality, dogma and ethics, has been created by the philosophy of Kant, who regarded the idea of God as practical, that is, regulative of conduct, rather than as speculative, that is conveying strict knowledge. How utterly at variance with early Christian thought such a position is may be seen from the statement of the Alexandrian Clement that the "Gnostic" (*i. e.*, the perfect Christian), if he were offered a choice between the knowledge of God and everlasting salvation would unhesitatingly choose the former, were such choice possible. Eternal salvation, according to Clement, was not an affair of one of man's faculties, but of all. To know God is as necessary as to serve Him, and grace is an indispensable aid to the full and proper accomplishment of this double task. Not that grace or the virtues should be viewed as in any wise suppressive of the noblest natural powers, but rather as their intensification and furtherance. Reason and intelligence cannot be divorced from will and practice. Man's natural interests are united and solidary, so likewise must the interests of the Christian be regarded.

There is an outer as well as an inner side to human nature, and an external spiritual government has been established to intensify the personal religion of the individual, no less than to organize and develop a public spiritual life in opposition to the united efforts of the kingdom of darkness and the powers of evil. Hence, the first part of the author's work deals with the opposition to the kingdom of God displayed by those who stand self-condemned by their free refusal to accept the ordinance of God. Of such as these no divine condemnation is needed. They have cut themselves off from the divine economy by their sinful refusal of the faith and have become members of the kingdom of darkness. Early Christian literature is dominated by this idea of self-condemnation and guilt.

In the second part of the work, the external side of the Church is studied in the early sources. The condemnatory judgments of exclusion from the true fold passed upon unbelievers or apostates by the early Church, were not attempts to anticipate the judgment of God regarding such as these, but simply the solemn public sanction of the judgment which the individual had already pronounced upon himself. The purpose of these sentences of condemnation and exclusion was educative and disciplinary. The Christian community was thereby warned to avoid bad example and those put under ban were

invited to repent of their waywardness and to return. It is necessary to keep in mind the difference between theory and practice, as also the social relationship of the individual, in order to appreciate rightly the meaning of excommunication. Practically, as carried out, these sentences took into account the ignorance, amount of responsibility or malice of the individual, and sprang from no unchristian desire to act counter to the love of neighbor and to persecute the individual by an act of organized intolerance. Excommunication was no magical curse, but a medicinal remedy which had for its object the restoration of the individual to the spiritual healthy-mindedness of the community. The studies of texts, phrases, and formulas which the author presents in this second part of his work are excellent, and the objective character of his treatment of these sources is to be highly commended.

The inner life of the Church is set forth in the third part. The true conception of this inner life is that of the intimate union and reciprocal dependence of faith and morality, doctrine and life. No one can read these early texts without rising from their perusal with the firm conviction that neither an undogmatic Christianity nor a dogmatic formalism is here taught. God wills the eternal death of none, but the welfare of all, and distributes His grace unstintedly. Like her Divine Founder, the Church has come that men may have life, and have it more abundantly. The natural and the supernatural life is described from the texts, and a number of allied questions treated with a positiveness that excludes the personality of the author.

The fourth and last part treats of the true Church of Christ as inwardly and outwardly constituted the sole appointed means of salvation. The author's timely conclusion is that, so far from being diametrically opposed to a sound Naturalism and Individualism, the true Church of Christ purifies, enlightens and perfects all man's individual powers to the highest.

To priests, students, and professors this volume of Dr. Seitz will be welcome. It deals in such a positive and thorough way with so many questions which we are accustomed to see treated in the slipshod manner of a few scattered texts, called in as a sort of reserve force to support a thesis, that it cannot fail to be a boon to all. The method is straightforward and objective. The texts speak for themselves and Dr. Seitz like the reader, seems only an interested listener, so well has he succeeded in keeping silent while the Fathers are answering his questions. An excellent index of sources and another of topics makes the volume valuable for purposes of reference, while the book-binder's art of the Herders has secured for it an attractive appearance. It is a timely work that meets many needs, and collects information that

will enable the reader to set aside many slurs cast upon the past and present of the Church. Its impartiality and lack of special pleading make it of unusual merit.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Cosmologie, ou Etude Philosophique du monde inorganique. By D. Nys. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1903. 8°, pp. ii +575.

Cosmology is "the philosophical study of the inorganic world." It deals with the three following problems: (1) first efficient cause of the world, (2) its ultimate constitutive principles, (3) its final cause. The present work is concerned with the second problem only.

In four books the author examines successively (1) pure atomism, or the mechanical theory of the world, (2) the scholastic doctrine of matter and form, (3) dynamic atomism, (4) dynamism. The space devoted to the study and criticism of these systems varies greatly in extent: the last two books taken together occupy only thirty pages; the first and second cover respectively one hundred and thirty-four and three hundred and sixty-five. This shows clearly what is the main question at issue.

The most striking feature of the work is that it constantly brings philosophy into close contact with the natural sciences. A cosmological theory cannot be the *a priori* conception of a thinker. Its first requisite is to prove an agreement with facts. Hence, the method followed consists of "an impartial study of all the facts which may have a philosophical bearing."

On this ground our author shows that pure atomism is untenable. When brought face to face with the facts of chemistry, physics and mechanics, the theory is found inadequate. Later its value is tested from the standpoint of philosophy, and here also it is found defective.

In the same manner, after the exposition of the theory of matter and form, he raises at once the question: is it in harmony with the facts? And when this answered in the affirmative, he presents the proof in the favor of the theory and defends it against the objections raised by science and metaphysics.

But Professor Nys is not only a scientist; he also treats with ease the highest and most abstract questions of metaphysics. The simplicity of substantial forms, their plurality in the same being, the divisibility of material substances, the essence of quantity, and its distinction from the substance, the individuating principle, even the distinction of essence and existence—for which an argument is found in the doctrine of matter and form—these are so many problems which

the author investigates. Here it is certain that some of the author's views will find opponents; his deductions will not always produce conviction in the mind of the reader. On those topics the scholastics themselves were far from being of one opinion; there is, and always will be room for discussion.

In short this book is a remarkable attempt to show that modern scientific investigations do not overthrow, but rather strengthen the old theory. It is a good example of the only progressive method for Neo-scholasticism. One must not be satisfied with the legacy of past ages; one should aim to enrich it with the acquisitions of our own age.

CHARLES DUBRAY, S.M.

THE MARIST COLLEGE.

The Dream of Gerontius. By Cardinal Newman, with introduction and notes by Maurice Francis Egan. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. 69.

Even in his lifetime the writings of Cardinal Newman were accepted as work of classical perfection; anthologies were compiled from them, and a consensus of opinion established that for purity, correctness, and elegance of expression they were easily the *fine fleur* of Victorian English. Nor has there been, since his death, any waning of the universal admiration that his writings evoked while he lived. On the contrary, their vogue increases, and it is no slight token of a broader popular culture that so many love to feed their minds and hearts on the incomparable books of this Grand Old Man of English Catholicism.

Cardinal Newman was a writer whose mental equipment rose upon a rock-basis of positive conviction. *Pectus facit disertum.* He was, indeed, affected in his youth by the prevailing "melancholia" of the world of letters yet under the compelling charm of the Byronic writings and memories. But his strong Christian faith enabled him to extract from that vicious atmosphere elements of gladness and hopefulness, while for other gifted men it was a deadly mephitis in which their souls gasped violently away their share of the sweet breath of life. In all his writings there is this undertone of sadness; nothing more specifically Christian could be demanded. For him the other world and the life to come were like a distant but strong light in whose reflection the soul of man and all his activities were as prisoners at the bar, or rather on probation, before a Judge all-blameless and all-knowing.

His "Dream of Gerontius," first made public by a quasi-accident, summarizes in hitherto unheard English all the hopes and fears, the

yearnings and the musings, the prophetic intuitions and the sinkings of despair that are known to the Christian soul on the verge of death. The human interest of the theme is beyond question. But the skill of the chief actor must always ravish our applause. It is a Christian "Book of the Dead" whose mighty formulas are alive with a celestial puissance unknown to the priests of Thebes or Heliopolis. Or rather it is as though a Christian Euripides had touched the archaic chants of Holy Church with an Hellenic grace and freshness. How far has humanity moved since Hadrian mocked at the terrors of his spirit with a *persiflage* worthy of Petronius!

Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Nec ut soles dabis jocos?

Before Cardinal Newman many a Christian soul had "dreamed" of the dread hour, at once brief and eternal, that stamps finality on the human soul in one sense or another. The authors of the "Vision" of Fursey and that other "Vision" of Tundal, Bernard of Morlaix in the majestic "Hora Novissima," and Jacopone da Todi in the god-like chant of the "Dies Iræ," had rightly acquired a place in the cosmopolitan literature of the Church as wondrous seers, men whose prophetic eyes had opened one short moment on the ocean of infinity. The long millenial procession of these bardic figures is closed by Dante and Milton. How instructive it is to note that amid all our agnosticism and pyrrhonism, amid the common chorus of doubt and pessimism, the only note that all men listen to with attention is the clear sweet note of hope! Man *is* a child of heaven, and he tends heavenward by all the original impulses of his being. The way is tortuous, and the bourne is often obscured, and the orientation is hard to seize. But occasionally man hears a cry, distant but very clear and very true, that he does right to follow. Such a great cry in the night of our materialism and human pride was the "Dream of Gerontius," such another was "Lead, Kindly Light." Their growing popularity is the proof that in them the hearts of men have recognized a genuine "vision" of the world to come.

It may be, after all, that Cardinal Newman will live in literature as a poet. It would have astounded Petrarch to know that his fame would rest, not on the Latin hexameters of his "Africa" but on the slight effusions of his heart in the vulgar tongue. The mill of human criticism grinds forever, inexorably, and in some things with absolute justice. It is forever separating the work of art from the work of mere utility. And the true artists are always poets, in the original broad sense of creation, the men who make new points of view, by

lifting us to a higher level, or by disclosing realms of thought and emotion long forgotten, or by diffusing a magic light over the commonplace and usual. Of that high lineage came the sweet singer of the "Dream of Gerontius."

Our modern mind has hungered and thirsted for the "fact" and the "document." Unjustly stinted in the past, it has now torn away the veil of things, and rummaged old earth in every direction with an incomparable ardor and equal success. It has created endless formulas of certitude, piled up more than Chinese encyclopædias of knowledge, written down philosophies of history and histories of philosophy, carved great systems and theories of things. Everywhere the new dialectic of experience and observation has queened it as royally as ever did old "Logica" in the Rue du Fouarre. Everywhere the slow cold process of discursive reason has been accepted as the sole medium of knowledge. It was the last of all ages for a great poet with a sublime message. And so he came not to a world whose heart was turned away from the highest things and whose ear was not attuned to the delicate strains of a purely spiritual song. But his precursors have been heard in the land, like the first song-birds warning men of the near approach of royal Summer clad in all her glory. We shall not return, in poetry at least, to any phase of outlived naturalism as expounded by its great school of prophets in the nineteenth century. This improvement we certainly owe, in no small measure, to the poems of Cardinal Newman—sweetly didactic, it is true, but also pulsing with genuine music, varied and proportionate, inherent to the theme, and married to the sense, so that the reader can never quite rid himself of the feeling that an invisible orchestra lies behind those words, themselves so perfect in choice and setting that no one could justly wish them otherwise. In this he is comparable only to those nature-children of poetry, the makers and singers of a nation's ballads, in whose artless verse the genuine every-day life of a people sings itself with simple glee and innocent directness.

Dr. Egan has furnished this edition of the "Dream of Gerontius" with an introduction and notes. Both are brief in character, but eminently suited to the purpose, viz., the illustration for youthful minds of the origin of this lovely poem and the elucidation of the hardest phrases or allusions. The nature of the poem, its theology, its exquisite verbal music, the charm it has exercised over souls of the finest fiber, are sufficiently well brought out; the exposition leaves, as it should, a desire and an impulse to learn more about the little classic. Would that Dr. Egan undertook other classical texts of the same kind and thus endowed our colleges, academies and schools with

suitably edited masterpieces of English, in which the spiritual purpose and content might not always be lost in grammatical and philological information, however useful! THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Las Corporaciones Religiosas en Filipinas. Por El P. Fr. Eladio Zamora, Agustino, Valladolid. Andrés Martin, 1901. 8°, pp. 504.

Ensayo de una Sintesis de los Trabajos Realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas Españolas de Filipinas. Por el Dr. Fr. Valentin Marín y Morales, Dominico, professor de la Universidad de Manila. Manila: Imprenta de Santo Tomás, 1901. 2 vols. 8°, pp. 507, 876.

In these two works, one by an Augustinian, the other by a Dominican friar, is told the history of the religious orders in the Philippine Islands, from the arrival of the Augustinians in 1565 down to the present day. The historical content of both is just now of supreme interest. We hasten to say that they are the most admirable chapter in the long history of European colonization. For centuries these islands were an oasis of Catholicism in the far Orient, and one would have to be a fanatic, impervious to all historical evidence, not to recognize in the numerous encomia of travellers and writers the proof of high ideals and duties nobly grasped and carried out with success. The savage populations were led by the religious to accept peaceably the domination of Spain. The necessities of the Spanish state and the sure instinct of the Filipino conspired to make the religious the trusted intermediaries between the conquerors and the vainquished. The "fraile" created the "pueblo," introduced the arts and industries and betterments of Europe, developed agriculture, constructed systems of irrigation, erected solid and spacious and artistic churches, furthered and elevated thereby the latent idealism of the native soul. Schools grew up everywhere about him—naturally in proportion as the common people felt the need of reading and writing. Colleges and institutions of higher learning have long been established there. Grammars and dictionaries of the native languages have been compiled and published; the fauna and flora of the land observed and described; the southern heavens studied and charted; the meteorological conditions noted and announced. Under difficult conditions the "friars" have accomplished a superhuman work. When the angry and interested sentiments of the present die away, as they must, justice will surely be meted out to them by some Montalembert who will write a "History of the Monks of the East." Already the lit-

erary documents are being collected for such future tasks; it depends upon the friars themselves to increase the number of such documents by literary services like those consigned to the volumes before us.

It seems true that, were it not for these obedient, patient, indefatigable men, the Philippines would long since have fallen to the lot of China or Japan, possibly have become a strong Mahommedan state. Indeed, Islam had been introduced there but a little time before Legaspi landed. Their services are therefore, of incalculable merit, since, whatever their shortcomings, they have been the strong wall that kept out the encroachments of an anti-Christian civilization.

In any case, the last to reproach them are the descendants of those who exterminated the native Indians of the North American continent, and only offered them the white man's religion in a period when he had begun to grow wearied of it for himself. The Filipino race lives, increases in numbers and attainments, points with pride to its sons distinguished in many of the higher walks of life, and is filled with a sense of solidarity and with a spirit of patriotism. As it never had any other teachers for three centuries than these "friars," and as all authors agree that it was a savage race when it first came into contact with men of Europe, the conclusion imposes itself on every honest mind.

Both works are clearly written under the pressure of actual circumstances—they are apologetic in character and scope. Nevertheless, it is only just to say that they are remarkably free from passionate denunciation, though neither Fr. Zamora nor Fr. Marín restrain their just indignation at many accusations that are either outright calumnies or gross exaggerations. *Væ victis!* Both writers have done well to put these lucid and candid books before the public —it would be well if from both of them were compiled a single readable volume for our American public, Catholic and non-Catholic.

Fr. Marín devotes one-half of his first volume to a description of the conditions of the Filipinos—social, religious and political, in the sixteenth century. The learned professor of the University of Manila has thereby rendered a great service to all students of savage barbarous conditions. He has likewise created the proper background for his story of the good deeds and endless toils of his brethren. We regret that he did not add a chapter descriptive of the original writers on the Philippines, their books, their characters, attainments and opportunities. Such an introduction is badly needed and is always a spur to wider researches.

A considerable part of his first volume is given up to a translation and a commentary of the legislation for the Philippines that issued

from the Council of Manila, held in 1582 by the first bishop of that see, the Dominican Don Domingo de Salazar. It is worth reading, every line of it, by all students of the problems of colonization. It is ensouled throughout by a respect for the savage and a sense of justice, made keener, no doubt, by the terrible experience of Hispaniola, Mexico, and Peru. Las Casas had not lived in vain, and the Council of the Indies had not legislated in vain, when such a document could be formulated for Spaniards and imposed upon them. Fr. Marín is correct in saying that this document, that is yet the property of the Archbishop's House at Manila, is the Magna Charta of the Philippines, and that it repressed the sordid rapacity of the adventurers in favor of the common welfare of the people. They were *gentes de razon* and were to be respected as such, though it had taken two generations to get that truth into the hearts of the fiercest and bravest Conquistadori the world had ever seen.

The bulky second volume of Fr. Marín contains in nearly nine hundred pages a summary description of the principal public works of all kinds that the religious orders have executed in the nineteenth century throughout the islands. It is a stately record, and by itself refutes many a wholesale charge of idleness and selfishness. We may say the same of the extensive bibliographies that go to make up the literary history of each order. Though religious and grammatical works naturally predominate, very many other branches of human knowledge are represented, some of them quite extensively and by distinguished names.

It is with sentiments of respect and veneration that we rise from the perusal of these volumes. They are a not unworthy, certainly not untimely, monument to the memories of a legion of good men, some of them glorious martyrs of Christ, men who carried His cross not alone on their habits and on their lips, but in their hearts. They could now repeat with the Roman poet *Sic vos non vobis!* There is something both blind and inexorable in certain movements of humanity, something that offends *intus et in cute* the native sense of equity. The "little folk" of the world have always known what it means to be caught up and incorporated in these irresistible movements and left to themselves to find a new *assiette* in strange surroundings. Their tears and their protests are like cries thrown upon the whirlwind that could not heed them if it would. Only, at times the historian, that backward-looking prophet, looks up from his bleeding annals with a smile of contentment. He has seen the finger of God in events, he has heard His saving voice, and he knows that such intervention is always dictated by divine wisdom and divine pity.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Beginnings of Christianity. By Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 445.

Under this title the distinguished author has arranged some fourteen lectures on early church history written or spoken by him at various intervals during the course of his professorship at the Catholic University. They do not propose to cover the entire ground at all adequately, but to "illustrate in one way or another certain phases and circumstances of those wonderful centuries before Constantine the Great, when the constitution and the institutions of the new religious society were developing on all sides within the vast Empire of Rome, when the pure sweet leaven of Christianity was permeating the decaying and unhappy society of antiquity, saving from its mass of corruption some germs of truth and beauty, and strengthening the State against those shocks that would otherwise have reduced it to primæval barbarism."

And that they do illustrate "certain phases and circumstances" of that age is put beyond all doubt by the deep learning, the sure grasp of the details and of the general trend of his subjects plainly possessed by the writer. It is indeed a great source of satisfaction to American Catholic to know that there exists within the pale of the church in his own country such real historical culture as he meets with in the perusal of these essays.

But of course essays are only essays, and all of his friends will regret that Dr. Shahan has so far not seen his way towards publishing something which would more extensively embody the results of his many years of deep study. Nevertheless the reading public will gladly welcome this little, until the time when the author may see fit to give more. Perhaps, after all, the essay form is better suited to the general reader who has neither time nor inclination nor always the ability to master a "book" let us say like "Les Origines du Culte Chrétien" of Duchesne. More often he prefers to read essays like the present which combine solid learning with brilliancy of style.

Indeed, from the point of view of style alone it is worth any one's while to peruse this book. The reader will rarely meet, at least among American Catholic writers, a style like this which, despite its occasional rhetorical redundancy, is nevertheless uniformly correct, elegant, cultured, and at times by its brilliancy and simple majesty recalls the days of Gibbon and Macaulay when historians looked upon style as a necessary accomplishment. Dr. Shahan writes in this way, not only because he knows his subject to its ultimate technicalities but mostly because he understands it with a loving sympathy as only one

can who has fallen under the spell of old Rome. In these pages we are listening to one who has idled away many a lazy spring afternoon on the Pincian Hill watching the glorious sun sink to rest behind St. Peter's in the purple hills, who has walked in meditation through the red poppies in the fields alongside the Via Appia that cover the sombre catacombs below, where once slept and perhaps still sleep many a blood-stained martyr of Christ, who has often knelt at the white tomb of Cecilia and felt the lingering fragrance of her girlish presence as the boy-chant of the "Laudate Pueri" rose and fell in sweet unison with his own emotions.

In this would seem to lie one of the chief charms of these essays. And if they did no more than enable the modern reader to catch some of that rare fragrance and simple beauty of old Rome, then the author may well be content with having accomplished a good work.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

NOTRE DAME COLLEGE, BALTIMORE.

Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. Publié par le R. P. dom Fernand Cabrol, Bénédictin de Solesmes, prieur de Farnborough (Angleterre), avec le concours d'un grand nombre de collaborateurs. Fascicule I. *A–Ω* —Accusations contre les Chrétiens. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903. 4°, pp. 288. (Illustrated.)

Since Martigny gave to the world of scholars in his "Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne" the first fruits of the labors of De Rossi, we have had a German adaptation of the same in the Real-Encyclopädie of Dr. Kraus, and an English counterpart in the Dictionary of Christian Antiquities of the learned Doctors Smith and Cheetham. All three have rendered yeoman's service; few of the large academical publications of the last fifty years were more assidiously thumbed by a multitude of scholars young and old. They have long since needed revision. The lamented Dr. Kraus was on the point of undertaking such a task, it is said. New material, new results from excavations and investigations, new lights from patristic studies and studies on the origins of the arts, new books and new reviews that have become like a *mare magnum* of facts and observations, a heightening and perfecting of the critical spirit and method, have made imperative a new encyclopædia of Christian Archæology. This work has been undertaken by the learned Benedictine liturgiologist Dom Fernand Cabrol. May the Master of Knowledge spare him to write *Finis* on the task! His name will deserve to shine beside those of Martène and Ruinart, Mabillon and Montfaucon, those princes of the

blood in the realm of grave Clio. Among his co-workers are MM. Allard, Boudinhon, Besse, Beurlier, Chevallier, Cumont, Delattre, Ermoni, Fournier, Kirsch, Kurth, Ladeuze, E. Martin, Petit, Salembier, and Vacandard. This list is sufficient guarantee to those acquainted with the world of Christian antiquities that the complete work will embody all the assured results of the last three or four decades of ecclesiastical archæology. I will mention here only the fine articles of Dom Leclercq on the Gnostic "Abrasax," on "Abécédaires" and "Abbréviations" as specimens of the exhaustive erudition of the work and the careful application of scientific method. For Teutonic write Benedictine "akribeia" and we have fulfilled all justice. Similarly, the archæology student does not lift his eye from the study on "Abercius" till he has devoured it all, text and literature. If he can retain all that doctrine intelligently, he need not fear to mingle with masters of the craft. In the article on "Abécédaires" it may be worth while mentioning that the Old-Keltic "eating" of the alphabet in the sixth century by little Irish children in the shape of small cakes (Leabar Brecc, in Three Middle Irish Homilies of the XVth Century, by Whitley Stokes, Calcutta, 1875, p. 31) is vouched for at a much later period by Shakespeare in the play of Cymbeline, a play otherwise so saturated with Keltic thought and spirit

> "But his neat cookery! *He cut our roots in characters*
> And sauc't our broth, as Juno had been sick
> And he her dieter." (Act IV, Sc. 1.)

The epigraphical type much used in this work is excellent, both bold and elegant. The diamond-type of the foot-notes is indeed small and will try the eyes of the aged and of brain-worn workers. But usually it is clear and vivid—the italics particularly are quite faultless and graceful, likewise pleasing to the average eye, that holds them without too great effort. Most of the plates are well done, here and there some blurring and uncertainty, the fault perhaps of the mutilated originals.

No library that aspires to keep up with the modern work in early Christian antiquities, literature, and in liturgiology can afford to be without this work. It is a landmark in these sciences, and a glory to the sons of St. Benedict who are renewing on the soil of "perfide Albion" the laurels its scholarly men long ago decreed them when they were working on the banks of the Seine, in their ancestral home, amid the mediæval treasures that were later scattered by the wild genius of the Revolution.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique contenant l'exposé des doctrines de la théologie catholique, leurs preuves et leur histoire, publié sous la direction de A. Vacant, docteur en théologie, professeur au Grand Séminaire de Nancy, avec le concours d'un grand nombre de collaborateurs. Vol. I, fascicules I–IX; Vol. II, fascicule X. Aaron-Bardesanes, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1899–1903. 4°.

It is not too much to say that the Dictionary of Catholic Theology edited by M. Vacant and published by MM. Letouzey and Ané of Paris is a decided improvement on all the former enterprises of the same nature. It is nearly a century since the similar work of Bergier appeared. The special dictionaries of the Migne collection are either long since antiquated, or were always too bulky and exhaustive for handy use—they were a kind of Catholic Ersch and Gruber. The Italian Dizionario of Moroni and the French translation of Richard were solid works of reference, while the second edition of the Kirchenlexicon of Wetzer and Welte, just finished by the house of Herder, has endowed German speaking Catholics with a reference-encyclopædia that is the envy of all.

The Dictionary of M. Vacant appears in fascicules. Ten of them are before us. They form the first volume and part of the second—in all some fifteen hundred pages, or rather about three thousand columns. At this rate the work will not yield in voluminousness to anything of the kind. It has the ecclesiastical imprimatur of the archbishop of Paris and the bishop of Nancy, a sufficient guarantee that it does not yield in orthodoxy to its German rival. The subjects treated run from Aaron to Bardesanes (unfinished). Among the principal departments are dogmatic theology, canon law, church history, scientific liturgy, ascetic theology, Christian archæology, ecclesiastical biography, and missions. The method calls for strict economy of exposition and discussion, severe orderliness, and complete historical setting. The substantial is not sacrificed to the accidental, as far as we have read, and a healthy critical temperament is noticeable in most of the articles. An encyclopædia article is notoriously unsatisfactory to men who know nearly all about a given subject, yet many of these contributions may be read with profit even by advanced scholars. The articles on America, Armenia, Africa, Asia are, for most readers, fairly exhaustive of the ecclesiastical interest that these subjects arouse. The article on "Américanisme," though not exactly untimely, is out of all proportion to the inherent actuality of the theme. When Fr. Van den Gheyn writes on the Acts of the Martyrs and Mgr. Batiffol discourses on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles

and the "Discipline of the Secret" every lover of ecclesiastical antiquities will read their pages with profit, confident that he is not losing his time or blunting his wits. One hundred and thirty columns are devoted to the manifold history of the word "Absolution," and very lengthy articles on "St. Augustin" and "Augustinianisme" place the reader under a lasting debt of gratitude for their fulness and their lucidity. The "articolista" is always somewhat of a worker in miniature. Hence, his limitations are many, both as to material and method, while he is always cramped by iron laws of space and proportion. In spite of that, relative perfection is sometimes reached by the collaborateurs of M. Vacant, *e. g.*, in the fine studies on "Ame" and on "Anges." When Fr. Sommervogel writes on the theologians since Trent, he is at home as few others of our day in that department. Dom Besse has long since won his spurs as a historian of primitive monasticism. Not unfrequently there is a praiseworthy frankness of speech; the article on Alexander VI will not displease those who want his name sculptured in bronze as a dishonor to Catholicism, or rather who would gladly pronounce on his administration of the high pontificate a "rescissio actuum," and hew his name from the glorious tablets of the papacy. What a stern Rhadamanthus has history become, and what subtle and crushing sanctions overtake through her the violators of law and order, did they even one day sit in the splendid cathedra of irresponsible power!

This publication should be in every college and seminary library, likewise among the books of every priest who can afford it, and every cultured layman. Protestants may learn from it some measure of Catholic scholarship, and also a respect for the breadth of theological culture that is here visible. A certain conservatism is rightly of the essence of Catholic theology, yet it need not reach into the extreme of ignoring genuine progress and useful novelties of material and method. In their time St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, and at a later period Suarez, Baronius, Bellarmine, Antonio Agostino, Petavius and others shook from their feet the dust of antiquity and went out on new roads of great promise. There is everywhere to-day in Catholicism a sane and regular movement in favor of intellectual improvement. Not the least sign of this strong current is the appearance of such works as these dictionaries of Vacant, of Wetzer and Welte, and the excellent "Theologische Bibliothek" of the Herders. Hither, as into a large basin, pour eventually the results of many hundreds of special studies, brochures, controversies, and the like. They are in turn a treasure for succeeding generations. The workers on such enterprises deserve a gratitude that unhappily is seldom the share of the sad race of dic-

tionary-makers, at once the most useful and least remembered craftsmen of the intellect. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Moral Briefs: A concise, reasoned and popular exposition of Catholic Moral. By Rev. John H. Stapleton. Hartford, Conn.: The Catholic Transcript, 1903. 8°, pp. 311.

What the Church Teaches: An answer to earnest inquirers. By Edwin Drury, Priest of the Diocese of Louisville. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 339.

Father Stepleton has done well to put into book form the interesting "Moral Briefs" which lately appeared from his pen in the Catholic Transcript of Hartford. Terse, practical and written in a lively pointed style, these "briefs" possess the composite character of short effective sermons and of timely editorials. By this happy combination the author is enabled to set forth within narrow compass and impressively many homely, yet vital truths; especially is he enabled to expose and rebuke popular shams and prevalent moral errors. Many who are unable or indisposed to read the more weighty works on the doctrines and practices of their religion, and who at the same time are impatient of the stiff and formal presentation of elementary text-books, find in just such works as "Moral Briefs" pleasing and profitable sources of instruction.

2. The little work of Father Drury aims at setting forth in the briefest possible manner the teaching of the Catholic Church, especially in matters wherein she differs from other Christian sects. To this work Father Drury felt impelled by the needs revealed to him in his experience as a preacher to non-Catholic and mixed congregations. The doctrinal exposition contained in the book is, therefore, not only short and simple, but of a character to awaken a living interest in all earnest souls who would know what way religious truth lies. The book comes recommended by an introduction from Bishop Spalding of Peoria.

Prælectiones de Missa, cum appendice de sanctissimo eucharistiæ sacramento. Auctore S. Many, S.S. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903. Pp. 12 + 403.

This volume treats of the canonical legislation concerning the eucharist as a sacrifice and sacrament. The place, time, celebration, offerings, application, and "sacra utensilia" of the Holy Sacrifice are dealt with in successive chapters to which is added still another on

the necessity and qualifications of a serving clerk. The appendix on the eucharist comprises the questions of the reservation of the sacrament, the age at which children may and should be admitted to first communion, the proper times for distributing holy communion, and the eucharistic fast.

The author proceeds at once to the sources of the canon law and sets forth the authentic interpretation of the same concerning the matter with which he deals. A most noteworthy and valuable feature of this volume is the brief historical sketch that accompanies the presentation and throws the light of history on the various topics discussed. The author ranges far and wide in search of material bearing upon his subject and this adds new interest to his treatment. An excellent topical and analytical index makes the volume most serviceable to priests and students as a handy work of reference, not to speak of its value to those desirous of a special and detailed study concerning the legislation that has grown up around the holy sacrifice. We cordially recommend it to priests and students as a very good compendious study.

Les Insectes Ennemis des Livres, Leurs Mœurs, Moyens de les détruire. Par C. Houlbert. Paris: Picard, 1903. 8°, pp. 269.

The work of Mr. Houlbert was composed with the purpose of winning the "prix Marie Pellechet" adjudged from time to time to the best work on this subject. It deals with the numerous families of book-destroying insects and with the best means of killing them or putting an end to their ravages. Among the latter are *procédés* of mechanical, chemical, physical and biological character. The construction of libraries, the preparation of paper, of bindings, of paste and gums, need to be studied with care, if we would fight with success these powerful little enemies of the human intellect. Dr. Houlbert's work contains an extensive bibliography of the subject, also some fifty illustrations that reveal the appearance and habits of the wicked "vrilettes" the shameless "ptines" and the unspeakable "termites," "teignes," "mites," and "tordeuses." Among them we regret to notice the "Periplaneta Americana," and the "Lepidocyrtus Americanus Chitt." May their tribe decrease!

Queries in Ethnography. By Albert Galloway Keller. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. 77.

This little manual of directions for students of ethnography contains some nine hundred suggestions for investigators. These guiding

questions are arrayed under the headings, Maintenance (of life), Perpetuation, Gratification, Religious and Superstitious Ideas and Usages, the Societal System, Contact and Modification. An excellent index permits the study of these directions as a kind of catechism of the principles and method of modern ethnography. Missionaries and travellers in remote and uncivilized lands will find the work very suggestive and helpful in their investigations. It is based on Tylor's Anthropology. Useful, critical directions are given in the opening pages as to the collection of facts and observations, the accurate description of evidence, positive, probable or inferential, the record of objects seen or collected, photographs, the distinction between what is native and what is of foreign importation, etc.

Geographic Influence in American History. By Albert Perry Brigham. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 365.

The influence of geography upon history, of man's habitat upon his actions, is undeniable. Dr. Brigham, professor of Geology in Colgate University, has sketched for us in these pages the physical outlines of the great divisions of our country from the point of view of an historian of its growth, development and vicissitudes. Parkman, Fiske, McMaster, and President Roosevelt have been his guides in historical appreciation—his own science enables him to speak at first hand on this interesting and instructive theme. We see that from the beginning the law of environment and opportunity had much to do with American life, *e. g.*, with the system of administration that culminated in the Long House of the Iroquois. Pages 25–28 develop the geological and topographical reasons why New York "could be no other than the chief city of the Western Hemisphere, . . . and will ever have ample room for the shipping of all nations to rest in her quiet waters." The valley of the Mississippi, that of the St. Lawrence, the Gulf of Mexico, the Rocky Mountains, take on a new character when studied from the standpoint of the history made along their banks or within the shadow of their mighty crests.

It is well to remember, however, that there are still deeper laws in history than those of nature—the mysterious but real laws that were dimly seen by prophet and psalmist as they mused over the decay of Oriental empires and the vigorous interference of God in the affairs of Israel. Dr. Brigham does not set aside these considerations, it is true; here and there he allows for the moral element. There is also in the work a tone of solemn and prophetic thought, as the author glances towards the future and reads it in the light of the

immediate past. But the law of justice remains forever, higher than Mt. Shasta and deeper than any soundings in the West Indian seas. And it is by that law that nations both live and die, as well as all genuine Völker-Psychologie of the past has shown.

The Ship of State. By those at the helm. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 264.

It was a unique thought to bring about a little "corpus" of political doctrines from the pens of the actual administrators of the nation's political life. In this work President Roosevelt writes about the Presidency, Senator Lodge about the United States Senate, the late Thomas B. Reed about the House of Representatives, Chief Justice Brewer about the Supreme Court, Ex-Secretary Long about the Navy, Assistant Secretary of War Sanger and General Ludington about the Army. Ex-Secretary of State Day describes true American Diplomacy. Senator Lodge tells how treaties are made. Solicitor-General Richards discloses the secrets of Uncle Sam's Law Business and Ex-Postmaster-General Wilson those of the General Post-Office. Suitable illustrations accompany the text that could well be made a book of special reading for children in the higher grades of our schools, in academies and colleges. The article by President Roosevelt was, of course, written before he became President, while he was yet Governor of the State of New York.

Für und Wider, in Sachen der katholischen Reformbewegung der Neuzeit. Von Dr. Matthias Höhler. Freiburg i/Breisgau: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. 131.

From the viewpoint of an unsophisticated Catholic heart, Dr. Höhler reviews the somewhat heated conflict of the last four or five years in Germany between the partisans of Dr. Schell, Dr. von Hertling, Dr. Ehrhardt and the opponents of these gentlemen and their school. Quite a number of propositions put forward by the latter have stirred up contradiction, indignation and disputes. The necessity of reform in more than one department of German Catholic life has been vigorously asserted and vigorously denied. A flood of brochures and books has deluged the land. With much wit, and generally with impartiality, Dr. Höhler reviews the situation. He is, perhaps, too severe, too unsympathetic for the "Herren Professoren," and does not correctly appreciate the influence that the Church has always recognized as belonging to her learned teaching members. I say *influence,* for none of them would undertake to renew again the battle for an ecclesiastical parliamentarism. It does not follow, how-

ever, that there is not a positive large "locus" somewhere in the counsels of Catholicism for the professors of Catholic universities.

La Crise Scolaire et Religieuse en France. Par J. Fontaine, S.J. Paris: V. Retaux, 1903. 8°, pp. 122.

In these pages Fr. Fontaine is at his best. Here he is not dealing sternly with his academical brethren, but pours out the vials of his wrath on the true enemies of Catholicism in France, the men who hold power over popular education, particularly those of the stamp of M. Buisson. Their aim is to render France protestant, not after the Calvinist type, but after that of a colorless naturalism. The so-called "public, lay, free teaching," deserves in reality none of these qualifications—in the hands of the common enemy it is destined to undermine every interest and right of Catholicism. There will be for the future no reason why Catholic Frenchmen should look abroad for heresies—their own dangers are so immediate and threatening. Fr. Fontaine draws a truly sad picture of the task before the Catholics of France.

"We are assisting at the fullest development of the frightful conspiracy of all those elements that are destructive of Catholicism, the Church, and the national greatness of France. We behold in one camp fanatical politicians, infidel and sectarian university teachers, pastors imbued with a pseudo-liberal Protestantism that is rejected alike by orthodox Calvinists and Lutherans, rationalizing exegetes and professors of the (Protestant) Theological Faculty of Paris, renegade priests, traitors at once to their faith and their priestly obligations. These are the workmen of our ruin, the apostles of that triple lie, an instruction that shall be at once free, lay, and compulsory."

We trust that the sad forebodings of Fr. Fontaine may never be realized. Somewhere in France there is yet a sufficient fund of equity and native prudence with an historical sense of the real secrets of French popular happiness and civil order.

The Popish Plot and its Newest Historian. By the Rev. John Gerard, S.J. London: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. 32.

These pages of Father Gerard are well worth reading. They are an answer to the late work of Mr. John Pollock (London, 1903) in which he makes an attempt to defend the reality of a popish gunpowder plot in 1678, although he can no longer sustain the character of Titus Oates, the perjured and characterless informer, on whose

lying statements the whole charge was based. The conclusions of Mr. Pollock, it is stated, "are based not upon the disclosure of fresh evidence . . . but on an improved historical apparatus which can squeeze out of the old materials a great deal more than previous workers dreamed of" (p. 3). As our author has written a learned book on the subject, his just strictures on Mr. Pollock's work have the merit of being based on an erudition that is at least as great as that of his opponent, while the canons of equity and common sense plead powerfully for the conclusions of Fr. Gerard.

Elements of Religious Life. By William Humphrey, S.J. Second edition, revised and enlarged. London: Thomas Baker, 1903. 8°, pp. xvi + 438.

Fr. Humphrey published in 1884 a three-volume work on "The Religious State," a digest of the teaching of Suarez in his treatise "De Statu Religionis." The present volume contains the marrow of that work. The thirteen chapters are entitled, The State of Perfection, Constitution of the Religious State, Entrance into Religious Profession, Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, The Obligations of Religious, Superiors, Ministries, Departure from Religious Life, Variety of Religious Life, Congregations of Sisters with Simple Vows. In this work, Fr. Humphrey has embodied all the latest Roman documents and decisions concerning these congregations. The book may be warmly commended as a reliable doctrinal guide in all the matters it treats of.

Das Gesetz Chammurabis und Moses. Von Hubert Grimme, ord. Professor der semitischen Sprachen an der Universität Freiburg i. d. Schweiz. Köln: Bachem, 1903. 8°, pp. 45.

Dr. Grimme has subjected to a careful analysis the Laws of Hammurabi, that wonderful text discovered in 1901 amid the ruins of Susa by the French Persian expedition, under the direction of M. de Morgan to whom modern Egyptology owes so much. This cuneiform text was first read by the Dominican Orientalist, Father Victor Scheil. Its 282 paragraphs exhibit a legislation of unsuspected antiquity, since it seems certain that Hammurabi is none other than Amraphel of Gen. XIV, 1, the contemporary and enemy of Abraham. These cuneiform law-texts are therefore the oldest written work of human jurisprudence and as the reign of Amraphel is fixed at about B. C. 2300, these "Laws of Hammurabi" are 600 years older than the legislation of Moses, 1000 years older than the Laws of Manu and 1600 years older than those of Gortyna. Dr. Grimme compares the content of the Laws of Hammurabi and those of Moses with the purpose of

showing that the Mosaic legislation was not influenced by this Babylonic code. The social and economic conditions of Israel were quite different from those of Babylonia, a fact that comes out clearly in the comparison of both legislations. The spirit of the Mosaic legislation is holier, purer, more elevated than that of Hammurabi. On the other hand it is possible to trace any real similarity to a source beyond Moses and Hammurabi, to Old-Semitic customary law, such a law, for instance, as the nomads of Mesopotamia had always retained, despite their long and close contact with the most ancient cities of Babylonia.

Florilegium Patristicum digessit vertit adnotavit Gerardus Rauschen, Dr. Theol. et Phil. SS. Theologiæ in Univ. Bonnensi professore, Fasciculus primus, Monumenta Ævi Apostolici, Bonnæ, P. Hanstein, 1904. 8°, pp. 89.

It was an excellent idea of Dr. Rauschen to compile a handy chrestomathy or "flores sanctorum patrum" for the use of seminaries and beginners in patrology. The fasciculus before us contains the Doctrina XII Apostolorum, the Epistula S. Ignatii ad Romanos, the Martyrium S. Polycarpi, and select passages from the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, the Epistles of St. Ignatius, the Epistle to Diognetus, the fragments of Papias, and the "Shepherd" of Hermas. Brief prolegomena and "literature," with an "apparatus" of "variantes lectiones" explanatory notes, and scripture references, make known to the youthful student some of the mysteries of a scientific edition of the Fathers. Dr. Rauschen has wisely followed for the text and notes of this fasciculus the edition of the Apostolic Fathers brought out by Dr. Funk. We are promised in the next fasciculus the principal writings of the second-century apologists. These handy and elegant editions of original Greek Christian texts are accompanied by Latin translations, made partly by Dr. Rauschen, partly by other hands. That of St. Ignatius to the Romans is possibly the work of Robert Grosseteste, the famous bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253. It is much to be desired that advanced classes in colleges, as well as the young theologians of our seminaries, be made acquainted with these "libelli" of Dr. Rauschen. The texts breathe throughout an aroma of sanctity and charity; they are also the pearls of primitive Christian literature.

Manuel Des Sciences Sacrées. Par Mgr. Charles Daniel. Paris: Delhomme et Briquet, 1903. 8°, pp. 660.

A very useful handbook of consultation for students of ecclesiastical history. It contains brief lives of the popes, accounts of all

important councils, indications concerning the editions of the original text of the Old Testament and the New Testament, the principal versions of the Scriptures, a list of the Fathers, early ecclesiastical writers, and principal later theologians with a little summary of heresies, errors, schisms and antipopes. Four good tables of "indices" enable the reader to grasp at once the few necessary facts and details that he may be in need of. As a vademecum for the theologian it has a distinct utility.

Conférences Pour Le Temps Présent. Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1903. 8°, pp. viii + 256.

This little volume contains seven important discourses, La crise du libéralisme by M. Birot; L'Origine religieuse de la Déclaration des droits de l'homme, by M. Saltet; La fable dramatique et le problême social de l'Etape, by M. Arnaud; Education et libre pensée, by M. Scalla; La crise du devoir, by R. P. Pégues; L'immoralisme de Nietzsche, by M. Maisonneuve; L'Eglise, l'histoire et le libéralisme; M. de Broglie, by Mgr. Batiffol. These discourses were delivered in the winter of 1903 before the Institut Catholique of Toulouse, and have a character of "actualité," dealing as they do, not with politics, but with questions of social morality that are no less living and urgent among us than in the sunny land of Southern France.

Ideals in Practice with some account of woman's work in Poland. By the Countess Zamoyska, translated from the French by Lady Margaret Domvile, with a preface by Miss Mallock. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 126.

At Zakopane in Poland the Countess Zamoyska established more than twenty years ago an institution for young girls, through which the Christian idea of work might be developed and made to take root in a population that, it is charged (p. v) has an overweening contempt and impatience of work of any kind. The school has grown strong in two decades, and now some 130 girls are generally in training. The basic principle of the establishment is that work is something moral and uplifting, a law of growth and progress, helpful to mind and heart, educative in the noblest sense. The enterprise of this good lady is meant to be for the needs of daily life in Poland what the novitiate is for the religious life, an immediate practical preparation. In the little book the duties of the youthful pupils are described as being of three classes, manual, intellectual, and spiritual. This unique charity deserves to be better known; its great principle is of equal importance in the Old World as the New—were it more gen-

erally accepted, the social millenium would not be dwindling into so remote a future.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Carroll Dare. By Mary T. Waggaman. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 101.

A Prayer Book for Sunday Schools, with a method of conducting the Children's Mass. New York: Cathedral Library Association, 534–536 Amsterdam Avenue. 32°, pp. 91.

Saint Cuthbert's. By J. E. Copus, S.J. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 245.

Hearts of Gold. By T. Edhor. Illustrated. New York: Benziger. 8°, pp. 234.

Visits to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, from the French, by Grace McAuliffe. New York: Benziger. 32°, pp. 277.

The Holy Family Series of Catechisms. By Rev. Thomas J. Butler, priest of the Archdiocese of Boston. Boston: Thomas J. Flynn and Co., 1903. 8°, Nos. I–III, pp. 62, 249 and 62; 383 and 62.

Harry Russell. By J. E. Copus, S.J. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 229.

Divine Grace. A Series of Instructions arranged according to the Baltimore Catechism. Edited by Rev. Edmund J. Wirth, Ph.D., D.D. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 330.

Commentaire sur l'Evangile de St. Jean. Par P. M. C. Missionnaire Apostolique, Hongkong, Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Etrangères. Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1892. 8°, pp. 691.

The Right to Life of the Unborn Child, A Controversy. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1903. 8°, pp. 125.

Sketches and Sermons, chiefly on the Gospel for the Sundays and Holidays of the Year. By Rev. R. H. Wakeham. New York: Joseph H. Wagner, 1903. 8°, pp. 229.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTENARY OF GREGORY THE GREAT (604–1 04).

For several years, in Catholic art and science-congresses, the wish has been expressed that the thirteenth centenary of the death of Saint Gregory the Great (March 12, 604) should not go unnoticed. At the suggestion of the "Circolo di San Pietro" a committee has been founded at Rome to put this project into execution. Its president is His Eminence Cardinal Respighi, Vicar-General of His Holiness. From him we have received an appeal that must touch all those who care for the glorious deeds of Catholicism in the past, and who are moved by the needs of our modern civilization and of Christian society in general. We quote from it:

Saint Gregory as man, pope and saint, is such that demonstrations of mere joy, however suitable in themselves do not suffice to bring out the marvellous activities, the benficent impulses, the manifold results of his life-work, so great and numerous that he has long since won, by a kind of Christian plébiscite, the title of Great. While his name stirs every superior intelligence, whether it be devoted to science, history, liturgy or art, it has a special attraction for those who labor to ameliorate, on the principles of Christianity, the social lot of the multitude, to extend the apostolate of Christian faith, and to consolidate Christian piety among the faithful and the clergy. His was a many-sided soul, if we may so speak. It radiated powerfully on all sides; hence, in the tribute paid by Christian humanity to this great pope, there is no class of men which cannot rightly share. Doubtless there will be celebrations in many parts of the Christian world, but we may justly believe that, without prejudice to local and private initiative, the City of Rome should be the first to honor him, should lead in the series of feasts that the Christian family will surely celebrate. Rome was his native city, the seat and the scene of his episcopal labors, as for thirteen hundred years she has kept watch and ward over his precious remains.

It has already been decided that a great Congress of works of science and piety shall meet this year at Rome; that it shall be as worthy of the saintly Gregory as it can be made, a Congress notable among all not alone for these joyous solemnities, but for the good and permanent works which it will inaugurate for the common good.

Naturally the people of Rome will honor with special affection the annual feast (March 12) of the great pontiff. But other celebrations at more favorable dates are already planned. To them the entire Christian world is invited—in a very particular manner the illustrious nation of England which venerates in Saint Gregory the Great its Apostle and its Teacher.

It is but fitting that in Rome itself every one should appreciate the significance of the coming festivities. For that purpose there will be given a series of conferences destined to throw sufficient light on the times, the genius and the peculiar physiognomy of Saint Gregory. These conferences will be held in the course of the months of February and March at dates that will soon be made known.

The more solemn festivities will take place in Easter Week (April 6–13) and on the sites made famous by the labors of Saint Gregory. These are the basilicas of the Lateran, Saint Mary Major, and Saint Peter, the Celian hill, the basilica of Saint Paul, that of Saint Domitilla in her cemetery, where he once preached a celebrated homily. During these days will also take place special meetings of savants interested in scientific liturgy and Christian art. It is hoped that all those who are interested in such matters will group themselves under the illustrious leadership of Mgr. Duchesne and the other savants and artists who lend distinction to our committee. As to the lovers of Gregorian Chant, we do not need to invite them. For all such it will be a supreme joy to hear at Rome those suave melodies which tradition ascribes to Saint Gregory. During the solemnities of the papal services these melodies will be heard above his tomb, and very particularly in his honor.

The papal blessing encourages the Committee to hope for the cooperation and generous support of a very large number of sympathizers. If these be assured, the purpose of the festivities will be accomplished, viz., to establish these centenary honors as a solemn time from which society and religion can henceforth date many serious enterprises and useful improvements.

Contributions, adhesions and communications may be addressed to the Committee for the XIIIth Centenary of St. Gregory the Great Piazzi di Pietra, 26, Rome. The Organ of the Committee is La Rassegna Gregoriana, Via Santa Chiara, 20–21, Rome. All communications of a scientific character should be addressed to Monsignore Louis Duchesne, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.

It is needless to remind our Catholic clergy and people of the merits of Saint Gregory the Great. He occupied the Chair of Peter from 590 to 604 during fourteen of the most trying

years that ever fell to the lot of a pope, amid political and social convulsions that were at once the agony of a dying world and the birth-throes of a new one. He was perhaps the last genuine Roman, in the strict sense of the word, to occupy a high office for the welfare of human society. Perhaps it will be enough to say that through him the English people was introduced into the family of Christian nations, and that he is in a very particular manner the Apostle and Teacher not alone of the Angles and Saxons, but, by a just extension, of all those peoples to whom in time have passed their language, literature, institutions—above all that genuine religion of Christ which he sent directly from Rome to the pagan inhabitants of England through Saint Augustine and his little band of Benedictines.

A CHAIR OF GERMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The University has received from the Rev. Anthony H. Walburg, Rector of St. Augustine's Church, Cincinnati, the sum of ten thousand dollars for the purpose of establishing a Chair of German Language and Literature. This noble contribution is the corner-stone of a suitable fund that will soon be ready, thus enabling the University to realize one of its most cherished ideals.

The Rector of the University seizes this occasion to thank, in his own name and in that of the University, the broad-minded and far-seeing giver of this fund. It is not enough to trust a language, anywhere and at any time, to the parochial school, the colloquial sermon, the domestic use. Insensibly its purity, genuine dignity, and native vigor are affected by the surroundings. It tends to deteriorate in the mouths of its best friends. A Chair of German Language and Literature in the University vouches for an elevated and correct use of the German tongue among all German-speaking Catholics of the United States. It can easily be made the living hearth from which shall go forth sparks of initiative and enthusiasm in all that pertains to the welfare of the language of Goethe and Schiller, Goerres and Moehler and Janssen, and a hundred other names that stand for the mighty genius of the Fatherland. This Chair is destined soon to gather about itself not only those whose origin draws them by the cords of Adam, but many others to whom the German tongue is an object, either of sincere affection and admiration or of indispensable utility. In the happiness of a common service latent but ardent sympathies are aroused. There come annually upon the scene new men anxious to build up and to unite, eager to put into operation the binding and vivifying forces of a common Catholicism. We are now in face of a great *opus charitativum*. Its workings can never be any other than those foreseen by our benefactor, the venerable

priest who has set on foot a good work that has long been ardently desired by all who have at heart the progress of the University. This work is large enough to gather adhesions from all cultivated minds. There is no worthy higher utility that it can not serve, from whatever point of view we look at its future. The Rector of the University desires to make known that he has received from another quarter the assurance of ten thousand dollars toward the completion of the fund. He returns his thanks to this modest benefactor, and expresses his conviction that the remaining necessary moneys will not long be wanting. We shall thus be enabled to open a superior academic teaching of German at the very heart of the nation. From the City of Washington every large action finds a quick echo throughout the modern world, from local becomes universal in significance, from individual and temporary passes over into the category of those strong corporate influences which alone can secure the permanency of an academic ideal, keep it ever fresh and efficient, in touch with the actual needs, and capable of profiting by a multitude of kindred interests, while in turn it lends them strength and comfort and inspiration.

MICHAEL JENKINS, ESQUIRE.

The University joins with a multitude of friends in congratulating Mr. Jenkins on the honor which has lately been bestowed upon him by Pius the Tenth. He has been made a Knight Commander of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great. Recognition of merit and faithful service is always pleasing, to men of every nationality, and under whatever form of government. It is the principle that lies at the basis of all such institutions from the chaplets of laurel and oak that appealed to the ancients down to the medals of honor that we append to the breasts of the victors in battle, the successful in science, the helpful and self-sacrificing in large works of humanity.

Mr. Jenkins has for many years rendered the Catholic Church services as genuine and notable as they have been unostentatious. We shall not offend his modesty by going over in detail the charities and benefactions that are owing to his enlightened generosity. We owe it to ourselves to recall that he is one of the benefactors of the University. As one of the original trustees, he has served on the board with exemplary good-will and self-sacrifice since the first days of the good work. For such service and for manifold encouragement the University takes this occasion to unite its gratitude with its congratulations.

From another point of view Catholics may well appreciate this honor paid by the Holy See to Mr. Jenkins. He is the head of an ancient family that has held its own on the soil of Maryland since 1660. It is now well into its third century of usefulness and fidelity, of service to Catholicism and the State. One bishop and nine priests have been given to the works of religion by this family—many will yet recall the memory of a former president of St. Charles College. In the past it has known how to endure persecution with constancy, and to wait in patient loyalty for better days. Intermarried at an early date with the Spaldings and the Fenwicks, it was long with them a bulwark of Catholic faith, a beacon light of Catholic intelligence and prudence, a source of patriotism and civic

devotion. We may well believe that these noble qualities will continue to shine in their descendants, and that not one will ever be unworthy of Edmund Plowden, one of the greatest jurists of England, who refused the Lord Chancellorship at the hands of Elizabeth because he foresaw that her commands would soon clash with the dictates of his conscience. Mrs. Jenkins is a lineal descendant of this great English lawyer-figure of the sixteenth century. May both Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins enjoy space of days and abundance of blessings in the conviction that they are continuing the principles and the works of an ancestry rightly illustrious by length of generations filled with good deeds!

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Misprints in Last Number.—In the review by Dr. Bolling of Schrader's "Reallexicon der Indogermanischen Alterthumskunde" (BULLETIN, Oct., 1903, pp. 525–532) there are, besides some errors of punctuation, several misprints, for which the author is not responsible. On

Page 526, Line 18. Read: ⟨*yet for an exception*⟩ *cf. s. v. Keuschheit.*
Line 22. For: *such,* read: *sich.*
Line 25. Read: *in Vorschlag gebracht.*
Line 33. For: *contrast,* read: *counteract.*
Page 527, Line 7 *et passim.* For: *Kœtschmer,* read: *Kretschmer.*
Line 27. Read: *gemein-.*
Page 529, Lines 16, 17. Read: *ana-lysis.*
Line 26. For: *ambiguities,* read: *antiquities.*
Line 29. Read: *for his purpose.*
Line 32. For: *recurrence,* read: *occurrence.*
Line 34. For: *language,* read: *languages.*
Line 36. Read: *of these words* ⟨*as loan words*⟨.
Page 530, Line 6. For: *is,* read: *was.*
Line 7. For: *five,* read: *two.*
Line 8. Read: ⟨*the*⟩ *Indic.*
Line 30. For: *when,* read: *where.*
Read: *found* ⟨*in*⟩ *Sanskrit.*
Page 531, Line 26. For: *relations,* read: *relationship.*
Page 532, Line 16. Read: *and in keeping.*
Line 20. No paragraph.
For: *it,* read: *the work.*
Line 21. For: *with,* read: *in.*
Line 22. Read: *semasiological.*

The Gaelic Chair.—The new Professor of Gaelic at the University, Dr. John Joseph Dunn, is just now at the University of Rennes, in Brittany, where he is following the courses of MM. Dottin and Loth. These French scholars are among the most famous Keltologists in Europe, and their publication, the *Revue Celtique,* is unique among philological periodicals, for its learning and the progressive spirit of its collaborateurs. Dr. Dunn has already spent more than a year

under the personal direction and formation of Professor Rudolf Thurneysen of the University of Freiburg in Baden. Professor Thurneysen is one of the foremost Keltic scholars of Germany. In his knowledge of Old-Irish he is, perhaps, surpassed by none. It is hoped that before his return Dr. Dunn will also have the benefit of instruction from the famous Professor Heinrich Zimmer at Berlin, whose knowledge of Old-Irish and Middle-Irish has made him one of the most beloved and respected philological teachers on the Continent. Dr. Dunn is at present engaged in the translation into English of a Middle-Irish version of a very important mediæval Latin document of a high order of literary merit. Dr. Dunn was born in New Haven, Conn., and graduated from Yale University with the degree of Ph.D. in the Department of Romance Languages. He therefore brings to his task an excellent philological formation obtained at firsthand from reliable and scientifically-formed professors. We have every reason to expect in the years to come very satisfactory results from his appointment. He is yet a young man, but when he begins his work next October, he will have passed with credit through several of the best universities in the world. Moreover, he has already had several years of experience as Instructor in Latin and in the Romance Languages at our University, and enjoys the respect and confidence of all. His father has been for many years one of the most prominent and serviceable members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, to whose enlightened generosity and patriotism it is owing that the Chair of Gælic was founded, first for the purpose of University teaching, and then for the better knowledge of the literature and antiquities of Ireland, as well as for the preservation of the modern Irish tongue.

General Lectures in Common Law and Roman Law.—The need of some general instruction in the spirit, principles, and nature of the Common Law for all the students of the University has long been felt. This is particularly true of the ecclesiastical students, who are destined to have charge some day of important material and temporal interests of the Church. For that reason Professor Robinson, Dean of the Law School, has begun a course of instruction open to all students. This course is given one hour weekly at a convenient time for all. It is already highly appreciated by the majority of the students, and it is felt that the ecclesiastical students who will follow it for two years will then have acquired what has been hitherto wanting to ecclesiastical instruction, some accurate practical sense of what the great outside world of business and temporal administration means.

Similarly, the University authorities have long been anxious that the study of Canon Law should be approached more generally from the historical standpoint, and that the lay students of the University should be enabled to grasp the origin and development of the venerable system of administration by which the Catholic Church has handed down from the remotest times the spirit and the purpose of Christian discipline. Rev. Dr. John T. Creagh has opened a course of instruction in the study of Roman Law, its history, general principles, and nature, its relation to the Canon Law, and its general influence on Christian legislation. This course, like that of Dr. Robinson, is given one hour weekly, and under the same conditions. These courses of instruction may be called culture-courses; they are at the same time destined to provide all students with a deeper, because more historical, comprehension of the legislation of our country and the legislation of the Catholic Church, both general and particular.

Lecture by Dr. Monaghan.—Dr. J. P. Monaghan, formerly United States Consul at Chemnitz, Saxony, and now head of the Bureau of Consular Reports in the new Department of Commerce and Labor, gave an instructive discourse to the students of the University in McMahon Hall, on Thursday, December 17, at 8 o'clock p. m. He spoke for about an hour on the national insurance system of the German Empire, and particularly on the feature of sick benefit, accident insurance, and old age insurance. Dr. Monaghan traced out the historic development of these modified elements of state socialism and explained the difficulties and drawbacks of the great system, as well as its undeniable utility and benefits. The thanks of the student body are hereby returned to Dr. Monaghan for his kind courtesy.

The University Library.—Many valuable books have lately been presented to the Library of the University. Such gifts are particularly welcome. The University authorities return heartfelt thanks for every such manifestation of intelligent good will towards the cause of higher education.

Rev. J. L. Andreis, late of St. Leo's Church, Baltimore, a venerable and highly respected priest, left his entire library to the University. It contains some five hundred volumes.

The following valuable collections have been presented to the Library of the Department of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures.

Most Rev. John J. Keane, Archbishop of Dubuque: H. Strack and O. Zöckler, Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den Heiligen Schriften

Alten und Neuen Testamentes. Fourteen volumes, 8°.; W. Nowack. Handkommentar zum Alten Testament. Thirteen volumes, 8°.

Rev. D. J. Stafford, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C. Karl Marti: Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament. Eighteen volumes, 8°.

E. F. Riggs, Esquire, Washington, D. C. Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Three volumes, 4°.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834–1890. Forty-two volumes, 8°.

Benefactions to the University.—The University has received, as the residue of the estate of the late Mr. Timothy Riordan, $16,590.01. The gratitude of the University is hereby expressed for the notable gift of Mr. Riordan. These moneys, applied to the cause of higher education will still be productive in centuries to come. No better use could have been made of his fortune than that to which Mr. Riordan applied it. His memory will always be revered by us, and frequently he will be remembered in the prayers and services of the Church by all the members of the University.

Foundation of a Theological Scholarship by Rev. James Brennan.—The University has received from the estate of the late Rev. James Brennan, of Erie, Pa., the sum of $5,000 for the establishment of a Theological Scholarship in favor of the Diocese of Erie. Fr. Brennan becomes, by this gift, one of the notable benefactors of the University, likewise a benefactor of the studious theological youth of this country. The University will ever remember him, not only in the public and formal services of the Church, but also in the prayers and devotions of all its members.

Gift of the Late Mr. John Gallagher.—The University acknowledges with gratitude the gift of $750 from the estate of the late Mr. John Gallagher. Mr. Gallagher will always have a place in the prayers of the professors and students for this liberal benefaction.

Other Gifts to the University.—The University has received the sum of $1,500 from Mr. and Mrs. Bellamy Storer, of Cincinnati. Mr. Storer, as is well known, is actually our Ambassador at Vienna. For this munificent benefaction the University sincerely thanks Mr. and Mrs. Storer, and wishes them the blessings of long life and prosperity. The University also acknowledges with gratitude the annual gift of $300 from a lady residing in Baltimore but who does not wish to have her name made public.

Memorial Service for the Late Dr. Bouquillon.—On Saturday, December 19th, the anniversary of the death of the late Very Rev. Dr. Bouquillon, Professor of Moral Sciences in the University, was celebrated in the University chapel. The Mass was said by Rev. Dr. John Webster Melody, Instructor in the Moral Sciences. The Right Reverend Rector of the University assisted at the Mass, and also the professors and students.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

VOL. X. *April, 1904.* *No. 2.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
LANCASTER, PA., AND WASHINGTON, D. C.

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY,
LANCASTER, PA.

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. X. *April, 1904.* *No. 2.*

WILPERT'S "PAINTINGS OF THE CATACOMBS."

The great work accomplished by De Rossi in the domain of Christian Archaeology has long since been recognized by the scientific world. The excellent résumé of his writings made by Northcote and Brownlow has greatly aided in popularizing the Mæstro's most important discoveries. Since the death of De Rossi much good work has been accomplished by the group of younger men who had had the advantage of being trained under the eye of him who is universally admitted to be the founder of the science of Christian Archæology. The exhaustive treatment of the subject to be found in his writings left little apparently in the way of original work to be done in the future. In all that concerned the history of the catacombs and the inscriptions on the tombs of the primitive Christians, the work of De Rossi will never be superseded nor essentially modified. Yet great as were the results of his labors in the field of Christian epigraphy; admirable as is the tableau of primitive Christian life which his pen has drawn for us, there is one important department of archaeology in which the work accomplished during his life time admitted of improvement.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of ancient Christian sepulchral inscriptions in reconstructing the picture of primitive Christian life. Yet the explorations of the Roman catacombs have brought to light other monuments of at least equal consequence. The ancient Christian ceme-

teries of Rome were, as Kraus well says, "the cradle of Christian art." The good sense always manifested in the Catholic Church with regard to indifferent customs was here displayed from the first century. It was long maintained by controversialists, whose conclusions were reached before the premises were discussed, that the Church in the beginning was intolerant of art. The discovery of hundreds of frescoes in the burial chambers of the catacombs, dating from the first centuries of Christianity, forever closed this chapter of polemics. Yet this discovery also led to extravagant conclusions on the part of some Catholic writers. It was evident at a glance that most of the representations depicted in the subterranean cemeteries of Rome were symbolical rather than historical; but to determine with precision what representations were symbolical, as well to interpret the symbol correctly, was a task not without its difficulties. One school saw a religious symbol in almost every painting of the catacombs; a second school, easily detecting the extravagances of the first, denied their symbolical character altogether. The conclusions of both parties were, for the most part, based on the study of *copies* of catacomb frescoes, instead of on the originals. But were these copies faithful? Did they correctly represent the work of the early Christian artists? Some of them did; the majority did not. The reproductions published by De Rossi were made by copyists who were not always well-qualified for the work. He himself was unable to give the attention to this phase of archaeological work which it demanded; and to some extent also he was wanting in the critical faculty requisite for the proper appreciation of the cemeterial paintings. His deficiencies in this respect have been in recent years supplied by some of his pupils, but above all by one who has accomplished for Christian art what De Rossi accomplished for Christian epigraphy—Mgr. Joseph Wilpert.

For some fifteen years the name of this young German archaeologist has been familiar to all interested in the explorations of the catacombs. His publications on primitive Christian art have been received on all hands with the highest commendation. It has long been known, however, that he was engaged on a work which promised to be his *magnum opus*

and which those familiar with his published writings realized would be final on its subject. This work has now appeared, and we venture to say that the hopes entertained of it will be more than fulfilled.

Mgr. Wilpert's latest publication consists of two folio volumes,[1] one of text, the other of illustrations. The latter volume contains some six hundred reproductions of catacomb-paintings, in two hundred and sixty-seven plates. One hundred and thirty-three of these plates are in colors, the remainder in black. All of these tables were made under the supervision of Mgr. Wilpert. The immense labor involved may be surmised when it is stated that the two volumes before us are the work of fifteen years. That these admirable reproductions faithfully represent the original pictures will be evident when the process by which they were executed is described. Realizing the importance of photography as perfected in recent years Mgr. Wilpert has employed this mechanical aid in all his reproductions. The first to utilize photography in the catacombs was an Englishman named Parker. Few of his pictures are satisfactory, but he deserves the credit of initiative. Copies of two frescoes, one of which has since been destroyed, the other mutilated, have been preserved only in his photographs.

The use of photography in the catacombs is accompanied by many difficulties. Owing to the obscurity of the subterranean galleries and chambers, negatives have to be made by the aid of magnesia, electric light being too costly. The employment of magnesia, however, is not always satisfactory. Good results can be obtained only in an atmosphere where the smoke quickly disappears. This condition is not often realized in the catacombs where the chambers are small and the circulation of air slow. Moreover, so many of the frescoes are damaged or obscure that photographs of them appear so faint as to be scarcely discernible. Photography alone, in consequence, does not suffice; a skilful artist is necessary to supplement it.

[1] Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms, von Joseph Wilpert. 2 vols. fol. B. Herder, Freiburg (Breisgau), 1903. Pp. xx, 596 and 267 plates. There is also an Italian edition of the work published by Desclée Lefebvre & Co. Rome, 1903, in two vols. folio.

Despite these difficulties, Wilpert has made an extensive use of photography in the catacombs. The house of Danesi placed at his disposal its most competent operator, Signor Pompeo Sansaini, whose work deserves the highest commendation. The photograph, however, was simply a basis for further operations. Each picture was taken back to the catacombs where a water-color was made in presence of the original fresco, under the supervision of Mgr. Wilpert. This important part of the work was performed by Signor Carlo Tabanelli, whose fitness for so delicate a task was little short of marvellous. Wilpert guarantees that his copies are in every respect faithful to the original paintings. The tables of the work now published have been made from the water-colors of Signor Tabanelli.

But while the admirable work thus accomplished by years of patient labor in the labyrinthine galleries of the catacombs would alone be of the greatest service to students of archaeology, its value is increased an hundredfold by the companion volume in which Mgr. Wilpert discusses every question of importance relating to the origin and development of early Christian art. And when it is added that each subject is handled with a critical skill of the highest order, the reader must at once see that the work of Wilpert will be henceforth indispensable to the student of Christian Archæology.

The text is divided into two parts, the first of which treats of pictures in general; the second of their contents or subjects. The opening chapter is devoted to questions of technique and the social condition of the artists, after which the author traces the connection between classic and Christian painting, indicating what was borrowed from the former and what is specifically Christian. Then follow studies on ancient dress and on the arrangement of the hair and beard in catacomb-pictures. A chapter is devoted to the question as to whether there are any real portraits in the catacombs, and one to a study of the gestures represented. This portion of the work is of the greatest importance for determining the age of the various representations, as well as the character of the subjects depicted. The artistic value of the frescoes is next discussed, and an important chapter is devoted to the principles to be followed in the inter-

pretation of those representing sacred subjects. These principles are next applied to the most important cycles of the second, third, and fourth centuries. The first part concludes with an account of the present condition of the pictures, and the manner in which, since the discovery of the catacombs, they have been reproduced. The second book, embracing over three hundred pages, treats of the various cycles of sacred representations: the Christological paintings, those relating to the Blessed Virgin, to the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, and to the Resurrection. The frescoes referring to sin and death, prayers for the dead, the particular judgment, and the admission of the deceased into heaven are then examined, and the work concludes with chapters on the pictures of the deceased, the saints enjoying beatitude, funeral banquets, and representations of the profession or trade followed by the deceased during his earthly life.

The importance of these volumes, both from a scientific and an apologetic point of view, has probably not been equalled by any archæological publication since the appearance of De Rossi's "Roma Sotteranea." As the work, owing to its necessarily great cost, is not likely to be at the disposal of the average reader we shall endeavor to give an idea, however inadequate, of some of its most important features.

TECHNIQUE OF THE PICTURES OF THE CATACOMBS.—The pictures of the catacombs are, in general, executed *a fresco, i. e.*, on fresh plaster. The different theories on this subject previously advanced only prove that their authors were unacquainted with the monuments themselves. Mgr. Wilpert's investigations have satisfied him that the pictures are frescoes; as a matter of fact, no other technical process could have withstood the ravages of time.

To obtain good results in fresco-painting necessitates great care in the preparation of the wall-surface. The rules laid down by Pliny and Vitruvius in this regard could be only partially carried out in the catacombs: the tufa walls would have been unable to sustain the weight of so many layers of plaster. Up to the third century, two layers were used, after that date very frequently one had to suffice. In one instance three strata of plaster have been found; but the apparent exception only

confirms the rule: the plaster is laid on mason-work instead of on the tufa.[1]

When two layers of plaster were used the inner was composed of lime and sand; the principal ingredients of the outer layer were lime and marble-dust. This last element imparted at the same time brightness and solidity to the stucco. When only one layer of stucco was employed the components were lime and sand, the surface being afterwards whitened. Stucco intended merely as a covering for the wall was inferior in quality to that destined to receive paintings.

The Artist at Work.—After the plasterer had covered a certain portion of the wall with stucco, the artist began his preparatory labors. Traces of the lines and circles wherein these consisted are still visible; so well defined are some of them, in fact, that they are discernible even in a photograph. As the work progressed it sometimes happened that the artist desired to deviate from the original plan; in such cases the outlines already drawn were allowed to stand. There was no need of obliterating them as, owing to the defective light, they were scarcely observable. In the earlier period this preparatory work was executed with much greater care than in the fourth century.

The colors most frequently employed in catacomb-frescoes were red, brown and yellow; blue, vermillion, cinnabar, and black—this last usually mixed with red and blue—were rarely used. This small number of colors is attributable to the fact that most of the figures are represented with the tunic and pallium, two articles of dress which demanded only a very limited selection of colors.

Chambers constructed and adorned before the middle of the third century were completely covered with stucco; after that date, and especially from the reign of Constantine the Great, only the portion to be frescoed was thus prepared: the wall facing the entrance, an arcosolium or a vault. Such economy, it is easily seen, did not add to the good appearance of the whole.

With the decadence of taste there come also a deterioration

[1] This exception occurs in the Chapel of St. Januarius in the Catacomb of Pretextatus.

of materials. Till well on in the third century the stucco was white and carefully polished, the colors pure and excellent in quality and similar to those employed in the paintings at Pompeii. After this time the colors were poor and adulterated, the stucco of a greyish tint and badly polished. From these facts an important chronological rule is deduced: the better the materials, the more ancient the picture. Curiously enough as regards conservation, the poorer materials have proved as durable as those of the best quality. Among the frescoes of the fourth century, many have preserved an extraordinary freshness of color.

It is highly probable that several artists were, occasionally at least, engaged to decorate a chamber. The nature of fresco-painting demanded promptness in execution and in those times the principle of the division of labor was well-known. It is only by some such hypothesis as this that manifest differences of style, and diversity of artistic merit often seen in the same chamber can be explained. Such inequalities are so apparent in the paintings of the *Capella Greca,* for example, that archaeologists formerly supposed them to date from different epochs, whereas in reality all are coeval.

The Artist.—The profession of an artist was far from being looked upon in the first century with the degree of favor accorded it in modern times. A small number of amateurs were to be found, it is true, even in the highest social grade; but the great majority of artists were merely slaves or freedmen. The Romans in general regarded artists with anything but esteem, which feeling is traceable to a much earlier date. The names of those who followed this calling, as found on their sepulchres, indicate an humble origin: in two cases they are referred to as freedmen.[1] There is no reason for supposing that Christian artists of the catacomb period belonged to a different class from that of their pagan confrères. Efforts were made by Constantine the Great, and in a greater degree by Valentinian I. to induce persons from the better classes to adopt this profession. Important civil privileges were granted by these emperors to artists.[2] What the

[1] C. I. L. 9786, 9788.
[2] Cod. Theod. XIII, 4, 2.

consequences of court favor were is unknown, as all non-sepulchral monuments of that age have perished. Yet it is recognized by archaeologists that several fourth-century frescoes are superior in style to not a few of the third. From this fact it may be inferred that imperial patronage met with some success. The improvement was, however, short lived; from the second half of the fourth century art again began to decline. But at least one result attended the artistic revival of the fourth century attempted by the Christian Emperors: the number of artists greatly increased. Most of the catacomb-paintings date from this period.

A second trait common to both pagan and Christian artists was that no person of either category took the pains to inscribe his name underneath his finished work. The personality of the men who executed the cemeterial pictures of ancient Rome is completely eclipsed: another proof of their obscure rank in society.

Up to the present time only two inscriptions have been found clearly referring to Christian painters. The first dates from 382 and reads:

Aur. Felix Pict (or)
Cl. Antonio et (Syagrio conss.)

"Aurelius Felix, painter, (was buried here) the year in which Claudius Antonius and Syagrius were consuls."

The second epitaph is from the catacomb of Cyriaca:

Locus Prisci Pictoris
"The (burial) place of Priscus the painter."[1]

This inscription dates from the fourth century. A mutilated sepulchral table which enclosed the tomb of a young man named Felix has inscribed on it the emblems of a painter: a stylus, a compass and two brushes. Doubtless all three artists exercised their profession in the chambers of the catacombs.

Relations between Classic Mural Painting and that of the Catacombs.—When Christianity was first preached in Rome the fine arts still held a place relatively high. The apostles and their successors naturally adapted themselves to their environment, and from the beginning acted on the prin-

[1] Inscript. Christ. I, 142, n. 318.

ciple afterwards definitely formulated by St. Augustine: "If the profane have said anything good it should not be despised."[1]

It is highly probable that the most ancient ornamented Christian tombs were decorated by pagan artists, for it can hardly be supposed that a school of Christian artists existed at the very dawn of Christianity. The style of ornamentation on these monuments bears out this inference; it corresponds exactly to that of contemporary pagan tombs. Representations of an idolatrous character were, of course, omitted. In the course of time a school of Christian artists, and a specifically Christian art came into existence. The pioneers of the school were probably converts, or, perhaps, Christians educated by pagan masters.

PICTURES OF THE FIRST CENTURY.—The most ancient paintings discovered in the Roman catacombs are those in the *hypogei* of the Flavian and Acilian families. Scarcely anything remains of the decoration of the Acilian hypogeum: a dolphin, some stars, and two peacocks. The ornamentation of the Flavian tomb in the cemetery of St. Domitilla is much better preserved. In the vault are depicted cupids, birds, landscapes, garlands and dolphins; several of these motives are repeated in the niches, together with floral designs, an ornamental head, a fisherman, a cornucopia, and various kinds of animals. On the lateral walls are a banquet scene, a fragment representing Noah in the Ark, and Daniel in the den of lions. The other designs originally here have been destroyed. Under the *luminarium* or lightshaft in this catacomb also there is a chamber a little more recent than the hypogeum, where the same scenes are repeated, and in addition others showing doves standing or flying, a sheep with a pastoral staff and milkpail, the curious sea-monster afterwards so frequently seen in the Jonas cycle, and three times the Good Shepherd. These representations are all of the first century. Their peculiarity consists in the circumstance that motives *purely decorative* predominate. Only three Biblical scenes appear representing Moses, Daniel, and Noah in the Ark.

SECOND-CENTURY FRESCOES.—The number of pictures dating

[1] De Doctr. Christ, II, 18 (Migne, P. L. XXXIV, 49).

from the second century far exceeds that of the first, and the character of the representations is essentially different. Religious symbolism is now predominant; decorative motives, except in a few cases, are secondary. Fifteen *cubicoli* (chambers) including the famous *Capella Greca* and one arcosolium date from this century. The religious cycle depicted includes Moses striking the rock, the healing of the paralytic, baptism, the three children in the furnace, the adoration of the Magi, Susanna and the elders, Noah, Daniel, the sacrifice of Abraham, the *Fractio panis* (Eucharist), the resurrection of Lazarus, Orantes,[1] Saints, the Good Shepherd, the Crowning of Christ with thorns, Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well, the Hemorrhoissa or woman with the issue of blood, the prophet Isaias with the Virgin and Child, two fishes with two baskets of bread—each of the latter containing a glass of red wine—Jonas under the gourd, a milkpail with a pastoral staff on an altar-like elevation between two sheep, Orpheus, Christ as Judge, the boat in the storm on the lake, seven baskets of bread and the Annunciation. Two fossors are also represented.

Third and Fourth Century Cycles.—Besides repeating the religious cycle of the second century, a large number of new motives were introduced in the following centuries. Briefly enumerated these are: Christ teaching, the Good Shepherd with his flock, the healing of the man born blind, the miracle of Cana, David with the sling, Job, Tobias with the fish, the Magi guided by the Star, the fall of our first parents, the vesting of a consecrated virgin, Daniel confounding the elders, the Good Shepherd milking, St. Peter with the roll of the Sacred Scriptures, reception of the deceased into heaven, the blessed in the garden of paradise, the three Hebrew children refusing to adore the statue, the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus, Christ teaching in the midst of the apostles, saints presenting themselves to Christ, Christ giving a crown to saints, Balaam pointing to the star, Moses loosing his sandals, the parable of the wise and the foolish virgins, the Magi with

[1] Orantes (sing. Orans) are figures in the attitude of prayer (with outstretched arms) regarded in antiquity as symbols of the souls of the departed in heaven praying for surviving friends.

the shepherds adoring the Child Jesus, the Lamb trampling on a serpent, Christ with the Evangelists, deer at a fountain, Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul, Mary as an Orans with the Child Jesus, the ladder of heaven, consigning of the law to St. Peter, Moses and Aaron attacked by the Jews, the ascension of Elias, the prophecy of Michèas, the Magi before Herod, the cure of the man possessed, the fall of the manna, Peter's denial, Susanna as a lamb between two wolves, a deceased woman as a lamb between two other lambs, two doves turned towards the monogram of Christ, and the Lamb of God on a mountain, whence flow three streams, between four saints.

Scenes from real life, referring mostly to the trade or profession of the deceased, were also depicted in the third and fourth centuries. Representations of fossors appear rather frequently, but those of other callings are so rarely seen that each fresco of the kind constitutes a separate type. Among those depicted are a warrior with his chariot, a merchant with his assistants, a bark on the Tiber freighted with *amphoræ,* and a scene showing the manner of unloading grain at the quays of the world's capital. Personifications of the Sun, the Sea, the river Tigris, Love and Peace (Agape-Irene) appear also for the first time in the third and fourth centuries.

Decorative Elements Borrowed from Classic Art.—As a setting for the principal scenes and to fill in small spaces, pagan artists were accustomed to press into service a number of designs purely decorative in character. Their Christian brethren in this regard followed the established usage. Cupids and ornamental heads were among the designs most frequently adopted. The former had no longer any idolatrous significance, the latter were frequently admitted into schemes of decoration during the period under consideration. Pictures of animals, with or without landscape setting, often appear in catacomb decorative schemes. Among those recurring most frequently are sheep grazing or in repose, antelopes, dolphins, doves and peacocks. Once only a parrot is represented. The only example in the catacombs of a landscape, in the strict sense of the word, is under the *luminarium* in the catacomb of St. Domitilla. This represents a hut in the campagna in front of which are two tables and two women with

a little girl. Part of one of the female figures is destroyed. A dog in the foreground, roused from his slumbers, is barking at intruders; in the background a mountain and a few plants and trees are visible. Garlands, vases of flowers, candelabra-shaped ornaments, also among the favorite decorations used by pagan artists, are met with frequently in the catacombs.

The fantastic architectonic picture, though strongly condemned by Vitruvius, was yet a favorite in classic art. Only one example of it has been found in the catacombs—in the crypt of Ampliatus.

These, with a number of other elements purely decorative, were, almost without exception, borrowed from classic art. As simple ornaments such designs could be used without scruple; the only restriction concerned representations savoring of idolatry.

A genuine creation of Christian art, in the domain of decoration, represents a sheep with a pastoral staff to which a milkpail is attached. This design appears for the first time under the great *luminarium* of the cemetery of St. Domitilla.

Besides the decorative elements borrowed from classic art, certain representations derived from the same source also appear in the catacombs. Two of these, personifications of the seasons and pictures of Orpheus, had a symbolico-religious signification. It must not be supposed, however, that these and similar motives were adopted in a servile manner by Christian artists. On the contrary modifications, and in the case of Orpheus essential changes, were introduced to suit the new circumstances.

Personifications.—In the art of the catacombs personifications are of rare occurrence. Those that exist belong to the third and fourth centuries. Two of them represent the sun, one the sea, and one the river Tigris. The forms handed down by tradition were necessarily retained: the sun appears as a radiant head or as Helios in a four-horse chariot; the sea as a head the hair of which is adorned with claws of crayfish; the Tigris as a bearded man, nude, in the half-recumbent posture characteristic of river-gods. Though the representation of the sea like the others described is in all probability to be regarded merely as a decoration, it is possible that some refer-

ence is intended to the name (oceanus) or the calling of the person on whose tomb it appears.

In each of four frescoes representing banquet scenes in the catacomb of St. Peter and Marcellinus there are two female figures in wide-sleeved tunics or dalmatics acting as cup-bearers, called Agape and Irene. All of these paintings date from the first half of the fourth century. The number of persons differs in each representation, from which it follows that four different families are portrayed. The fact that the names of the attendants are in each case Agape and Irene excludes the possibility of their being ordinary domestics; it is hardly to be suposed that all four families had servants bearing these appellations. It is much more probable that Agape and Irene are personifications of Charity and Peace: the two chief blessings of eternal life so frequently referred to in the inscriptions of the catacombs. If this supposition is well-founded the inference follows that these four frescoes are representations of the celestial banquet.

In one of the sacrament chapels there is an interesting painting which may be classed under the heading of personifications. In an oval-shaped nimbus is the bust of a beardless youth from whose head two series of rays are issuing. By the addition of a *hand* the Christian artist transformed this picture, which otherwise might pass for Helios, into a representation of *God*. A hundred years after the date of this painting, that is in the fourth century, a hand stretched forth from the clouds was an ordinary symbol of God.[1]

The Seasons.—The seasons of the year were represented in classic art under many different forms. Christian artists in consequence had an abundance of models on which to draw. The ordinary subjects brought into requisition in this connection were heads, busts, and genii, with their corresponding attributes, and scenes representing the occupations peculiar to each season.

On the vault over the nave of the *Capella Greca,* there still exists part of a fresco which represented the seasons. It consists of ornamental heads, all of which, save that of Summer,

[1] The "hand of God," "the right hand of the Lord" are well-known biblical phrases from which, evidently, the idea of this symbol was derived. Cf. Wisdom V, 17.

distinguished by ears of corn and lilies, have perished. Several pictures representing the seasons may be seen in the crypt of St. Januarius. Spring is represented by scenes from the florists' art. Four girls are fastening flowers on suspended ropes. A number of wreaths are already finished, and near them are standing several baskets of flowers ready for use. Two men, carrying additional material for the wreath-makers, are hastening from opposite sides towards the central scene. At the extremities two girls are busily engaged plucking flowers.

Summer is symbolized by five nude cupids, without wings, gathering the harvest. One of them is cutting grain with a reaping-hook, a second rakes it together, a third is sheaving, a fourth carries a sheaf on his shoulders, while the fifth is threshing the grain. The entire scene is highly animated; unfortunately this, as well as the preceding picture, has suffered much injury through time.

Autumn is represented by a vintage scene. Seven wingless cupids are all busily occupied. Two of them are gathering grapes, two others place the grapes in a basket, another is carrying a basket to the wine-press, and the two remaining are pressing the grapes in a large vat, from which the *must* flows into two vases. All the cupids save two are nude: the one carrying the basket wears the *tunica exomis,* and one of the two engaged in pressing the grapes wears the *perizoma,* or breech-cloth.

Winter is personified by a scene from the olive harvest. Five cupids, clothed because of the season, are laboring diligently. The first with a pole shakes the olives from the tree, a second gathers the fallen fruit into a receptacle, a third standing on a ladder is plucking olives directly from the tree, a fourth places the olives gathered by the third into a basket, and the fifth is carrying a full basket away.

In the same crypt is a second series of representations of the seasons not less interesting than that described. The vault space is divided into four zones, separated by alternate red and blue lines. Symbols of the seasons are depicted in these zones: Spring by charming wreaths of wild roses, Summer by wreaths made of ears of corn, Autumn by vines, and Winter

by branches of olive. Animation is given to the scene by a number of birds, some flying, others about to fall on their prey, and still others perched on boughs singing or whetting their bills. The greater part of them are engaged in feeding their young, some in the act of reaching them food, others standing above the nests with worms between their bills. The nests are all in the zones of Spring, Summer and Autumn; in that of Spring there is also a cricket and in that of Summer a butterfly. The angles of the vault are occupied by vases, in the form of seashells, filled with roses, and standing on candelabra-shaped pedestals.

In the crypt of Orpheus, in the cemetery *ad duas lauros,* the seasons are represented by busts of females. That of Spring is destroyed; fragments of Summer put together by Wilpert show a bust clad in sleeveless tunic, the head ornamented with ears of corn. The bust of Autumn appears also in sleeveless tunic, fastened with a clasp on each shoulder, the head encircled by a nimbus. The bust representing Spring is so injured that nothing is discernible except a green cloak drawn over the head. In the center of the vault the Good Shepherd is depicted. These frescoes date from the second half of the third century.

Several other representations of the seasons, dating from the fourth century, have been discovered in the catacombs. They are all badly injured, but judging by what remains, they differ from those described only in minor details.

In the catacombs there are also a few examples of isolated representations of one season alone. The most interesting of these, three in number, are near the Flavian hypogeum. They represent Amor and Psyche gathering flowers—apparently a symbol of Spring.

ORPHEUS.—The wonderful effects of the music of Orpheus seemed to the early Christians to prefigure the miraculous results of Christ's teaching. Hence Orpheus was regarded as a type of Christ. Orpheus in classic art was usually represented in the midst of an auditory from the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and in this respect Christian artists followed closely the stereotyped model. Orpheus himself, however, in

three of the five pictures discovered, approaches the type of the Good Shepherd feeding his flock.

Specific Christian Representations.—The most ancient representations of a sacred character were inspired by the Sacred Scriptures. Those of Noah, Daniel, the Good Shepherd, Moses striking the rock, the paralytic healed, the baptism of Christ, the adoration of the Magi, the sacrifice of Abraham, the *Fractio panis* with the miraculous multiplication, and the resurrection of Lazarus, are the most important. None of these subjects had ever previously been represented and consequently the Christian artist had to create new types. The idea underlying his compositions was not, however, that of an illustrated commentary on the sacred text. The number of subjects is so limited as to exclude such an hypothesis. The selections were evidently based on some relation to the person on whose tomb they appeared. At the same time the pencil of the artist was influenced by symbolism rather than by history.

The nature of a symbol demands that only those characteristics which are necessary to convey the symbolic idea shall be brought into relief; and on the other hand, that all salient elements of the original which may obscure the concept to be expressed shall be kept out of view. In other words, the artist must leave aside whatever may draw away the attention of the observer from the symbolic scope of his pictures, and emphasize only that which expresses the idea he intends to convey. Hence the characteristics most accentuated in catacomb-frescoes are those of excision and simplicity. The most important *moment* of a biblical incident was, as it were, seized by the artist, and the figures placed in attitudes corresponding to that moment.

But if the artist was restricted in one direction by the symbolic character of his work, he was, on the other hand, free from the necessity of closely adhering to the biblical narrative; he could indulge in liberties which would materially facilitate his task.

These considerations cannot be too much emphasized, for they explain the point of view from which the pictures of the catacombs should be observed and judged. A just appreciation of the conditions influencing the origin of these represen-

tations destroys the force of criticisms relative to the poverty of conception behind those ancient Christian compositions, and the liberties taken by the artists with the text of the Scriptures. Those most given to indulgence in this species of animadversion only demonstrate their own slight acquaintance with the origins of Christian art.

The importance of the principles enunciated for the study of the catacomb-frescoes cannot be over-estimated. This, however, will appear more closely by their application to the principal cycles of pictures from the Old and New Testaments.

Moses Striking the Rock.—The miracle wrought by Moses in the desert offers all the elements for a painting with numerous figures. Yet Moses alone is represented, and at the decisive *moment* when, having struck the rock with his rod, a stream of water issued forth. The multitude perishing with thirst had no interest for the artist, because the symbolic significance of the scene lay in the *flowing water,* symbolizing baptism. Moses, because of his important part in the occurrence, is one of the few characters of the Old Testament represented in the garments reserved to sacred personages in early Christian art: the tunic and pallium.

Noah in the Ark.—The episodes of Noah in the ark, Daniel in the den of the lions, and the three children in the furnace, show how the persons concerned were all delivered from imminent death by the direct interposition of God. It would therefore be difficult to find more appropriate symbols of the deliverance of the soul from eternal death.

From the moment of the dove's return with the olive branch, the safety of Noah was beyond doubt. Three elements consequently were sufficient to convey the idea of security: Noah, the ark, and the dove. But if the ark was represented as described in the Bible, completely closed, the part of Noah could not be brought sufficiently into relief. To obviate this difficulty the artist did not hesitate to depart from his text: the ark appears as an oblong chest. This modification served sufficiently to convey the correct idea of the ark, and, at the same time, the anachronism which would result from representing the ark as a boat similar to that of Jonas, was avoided.

Again, Noah alone of all the inhabitants of the ark, had any importance as a symbol. To depict its human inmates would only draw off attention from the central figure. Only Noah, in consequence, is represented, generally in the Orans attitude, and the dove with the branch of olive.

Daniel in the den of lions.—The scenes of Daniel in the den of lions show the prophet standing as an Orans, unharmed, between two lions. Here, also, only the essentials of the symbol are reproduced: two lions instead of seven.[1]

The theory advanced by some archæologists that the catacomb-frescoes of Daniel were influenced by the condemnation of martyrs *ad bestias, ad leones* is regarded by Wilpert as not very well founded. A fresco in the Flavian gallery representing Daniel on a slight elevation between two lions, is generally appealed to in support of this hypothesis. But the existence of the elevation, which assumes an important place in the argument, may be explained by the artistic exigency of preserving the proportions between the height and the base of the picture. It is possible, however, that in some later representations of Daniel the influence of the martyrs may be seen in the *perizoma* worn by the prophet.

The Children in the Furnace.—In the group of the three children standing unhurt in the midst of the flames the artist could without difficulty follow closely the biblical narrative.[2] "The angel of the Lord went down . . . into the furnace, and he drove the fire out of the furnace, and they praised the Lord with one voice, etc." This is the moment represented in the cemeterial paintings. The most ancient fresco of this subject represents the three youths dressed and standing in the flames, their arms elevated in prayer. Only in two fourth-century paintings does the angel appear. Once the "hand of the Lord" protects them, and once a dove carrying an olive branch hovers over them: a proof that this scene represents the same idea as that of Noah in the ark.

The Paralytic.—The most ancient picture of the paralytic is that of the *Capella Greca.* It represents a man walking briskly and carrying a bed. The bed sufficiently conveyed the

[1] Daniel XIV, 31.
[2] Daniel III, 21, sqq. 49 sqq.

idea of the artist; all other accessories, even the Saviour Himself, were omitted. The paralytic healed was a symbol of the neophyte freed from sin through the waters of baptism.

The Resurrection of Lazarus.—Lazarus dead was a type of the deceased Christian awaiting in his tomb the day of resurrection. The frescoes represent him wrapped in the funeral robes of the time, and resembling a mummy. His tomb is a one-storied edifice, the entrance to which is reached by several steps. The door is opened, and on the threshold Lazarus appears, not however in the recumbent posture of the dead, but standing. The most ancient representation of this symbol, that in the *Capella Greca,* contains two scenes, the first showing the mummy of Lazarus in the tomb, the second risen from the dead and standing near one of his sisters. In a fresco of the resurrection of Lazarus in the Passion crypt of Pretextatus Christ is represented, but this part of the picture is so injured that his attitude cannot be determined. It may, however, be conjectured from a painting of our Lord and the Samaritan woman in the immediate vicinity in which the Saviour's right hand is elevated in the natural gesture accompanying speech.

The model for the later frescoes of Lazarus is in the Annunciation crypt of St. Priscilla, and represents Christ touching the mummy-like corpse of Lazarus with a rod. This picture dates from the end of the second century.

The oldest fresco in which a rod or wand is seen as the instrument by which miracles were performed is that of Moses striking the rock, in the *Capella Greca.* From about the end of the second century the rod is used by Christ also in the performance of miracles where the objects are *inanimate, e. g.,* the loaves and fishes in the miraculous multiplication. Two exceptions to this rule are seen in pictures representing the cure of the man born blind and the Hemorrhoissa, in which Christ holds the wand in his hand but does not use it. These exceptions, therefore, only confirm the rule.

The Sacrifice of Abraham.—The representation of the sacrifice of Abraham presented more difficulties to the artist than any of those previously discussed. The most important moment of this biblical episode was that in which Abraham, with uplifted knife, was ordered by an angel to stay his hand.

Turning instantly, the patriarch saw the ram in the thicket, and having seized him he "offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son."[1] So many incidents in rapid succession and all closely associated with the decisive moment could not well be represented. As a consequence, the frescoes on the subject differ widely from one another. The most ancient of them, that in the *Capella Greca,* shows Abraham with a naked sword in one hand; the other rests on the shoulder of Isaac. The angel does not appear, but, as the substitute ram occupies a prominent place in the scene, it may be assumed that the miraculous intervention has already taken place. To the right and away from Isaac, is the altar on which a fire is lighted. Behind the altar is a mountain and some trees; a corresponding elevation probably existed on the opposite side, but this part of the picture is destroyed. Thus the artist depicts not only the principal elements of the sacrifice, but also its theatre. The angel alone is wanting, but in several fourth-century frescoes this omission is supplied by "the hand of God."

A second representation of the sacrifice of Abraham in one of the sacrament chapels shows the patriarch and his son Isaac as Orantes, evidently returning thanks to God for the grace received. The ram and a bundle of wood on the right sufficiently indicate the subject of the picture. A fresco in the catacomb of St. Priscilla represents Isaac carrying a bundle of wood while Abraham points to the ram which stands beside the altar. The patrarch, to all appearance, is answering his son's question as to where was the victim of the sacrifice: hastening over details, the artist indicates the conclusion of the episode. Several fourth-century frescoes reproduce, with more or less fidelity, the concept of the picture in the *Capella Greca.*

The Miraculous Multiplication.—Representations of the miraculous multiplication, like the previously mentioned pictures, depart greatly from historical accuracy. The artist's object was to produce a symbolic picture of the Eucharist, based on the miracle wrought by Christ in the desert. His first requisite, therefore, was a banquet scene which would instantly remind an observer of the miraculous multiplication. Strictly

[1] Gen. XXII, 13.

speaking this could be accomplished by representing before the banqueters a number of loaves and fishes corresponding to that miraculously increased. But bread and fish were ordinarily used in banquets, and then the number of loaves and fishes differed on each of the two occasions mentioned in the Gospels. Something further was consequently required to exclude doubts as to the character of the picture, and this necessary element was supplied by depicting the *twelve* or the *seven* baskets into which the fragments were gathered. Thus the *number* of the baskets on the one hand, and the *loaves and fishes* on the other, clearly indicated the biblical episode portrayed. The famous picture of the *Fractio panis* removes all possible doubt as to the symbolic significance of this cycle of representations, and in a manner never afterwards surpassed. The artist here represented "the President of the brethren" "breaking bread" and the Eucharistic cup, "thus adding to the type two essential elements of the antitype."

The composition of the crypt of Lucina is more complicated than that of the *Fractio panis*. Two baskets of bread are depicted within which are glasses of red wine; the baskets therefore contain *the matter* of the Eucharist.

The *moment* of the miracle, presupposed in the two previous pictures, receives special treatment in one of the sacrament chapels. Christ is seen blessing a loaf and a fish placed on a tripod: the scene consequently is a symbol of the consecration. The table represents the altar. Side by side with this is a second representation showing seven men seated at a table on which are two fishes. In front of the table are eight baskets of bread disposed symmetrically. Both scenes taken together evidently symbolize the consecration and the reception of Holy Communion.

Several third-century frescoes represent the miraculous multiplication as effected by means of a wand with which Christ touches one of the baskets of bread. This type of Eucharistic symbol was easily executed, and at the same time it served to emphasize the divinity of Christ; but artistically it cannot be said to be an improvement on the more ancient paintings of the same subject. The latest representation of the Eucharist shows Christ blessing loaves and fishes presented to Him by the apostles.

Adoration of the Magi.—The story of the Magi reaches its climax when the "wise men from the East" bow down in adoration before the divine Infant. Passing over this portion of the scene, the catacomb-artists represent them offering their gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh. The reasons for this selection were evidently artistic: three prostrate figures would occupy too much space and would at best form an awkward group. The entire scene consists of the Virgin Mother seated with the divine Infant on her lap, and three advancing figures, each bearing his gift to the new-born Saviour. The Magi are clothed in the manner of the Orient.

The Good Shepherd.—In depicting the Good Shepherd carrying the lost sheep on His shoulders the artist could, without difficulty, follow closely the scriptural narrative. The flock to which the wanderer was restored is represented in the catacombs by two sheep, one on each side of the Shepherd. Representations somewhat similar to this exist in classic art, from which coincidence the inference is sometimes drawn that the Christian type was modeled on the pagan. Such a resemblance was, however, inevitable. A shepherd carrying a sheep on his shoulders presented the same appearance to pagan and Christian eyes. The significance of the picture to a pagan or a Christian was quite another matter: the latter saw in it the Divine Pastor of the Gospel.

Convivial Scenes.—From the end of the republican period at Rome, the guests at a banquet were accommodated on a semi-circular divan (sigma) which replaced the couches, joined together at a right angle, previously in vogue. The inner side of the divan was covered by a cushion common to all the guests. Leaning with the left arm on this cushion, the various dishes were handed by servants to the participators from a table conveniently located. No implements save those of nature were used to transfer the viands from the dish to their destination. This was the customary attitude at banquets from the time of Augustus till well into the Middle Ages.

The artists of the catacombs represent their banquet scenes in the manner described. Three different kinds are depicted: the Eucharistic, the celestial and the funeral banquet. They are all represented in substantially the same way. The ser-

vants who ordinarily waited at table are absent from pictures of the miraculous multiplication, and twice from those of the celestial banquet. As regards the former class, it may be said that not being banquets in the ordinary sense the absence of servants is historically correct.

The dress of the guests as represented in catacomb banquet-scenes corresponds to the reality, viz., the ungirdled tunic; women in most instances wear no headcovering. The female figure of the *Fractio panis,* however, assisting at a liturgical function, has a sort of handkerchief over her head.

The posts of honor at banquets in the days of the Roman Empire were the two extremities of the divan, that on the right when the guests were placed, ranking first.[1] The third place followed the second from the left extremity, then the fourth, and so on to the last which was beside the first. The artists of the catacomb preserved this order, at least partially. In banquets where the two sexes participate, the first place is always held by a man; in the picture of the *Fractio panis* by the Bishop. The number of guests represented in these pictures never exceeds seven.

In celestial and Eucharistic banquet-scenes the food consists of fish; baskets of bread arranged symmetrically are added in pictures of the miraculous multiplication. The injured condition of two out of three frescoes of funeral banquets makes it impossible to determine the sort of viands used; in the third case the table is bare. Wine, an essential in banquets of early Christian times, is seen only in representations of celestial and funeral banquets, and in that of the *Fractio panis;* two baskets of bread in the fresco of the crypt of Lucina, as already noted, contain glasses of this liquid. Wine in antiquity was mixed with water, usually warm, before using. At banquets, consequently, water was always at hand, and a request to "mix" (miscere) wine with water was equivalent to saying "Give me (something) to drink."

The hot water (calda, calida) was handed around by a servant whose duty it was to do the mixing. In the four frescoes

[1] Sulp. Sever. Vita S. Martini XX, 4; Sid Apoll. Ep. I, 11, 10. Two banquets of the years 384 and 461 are described by these writers.

of the celestial banquet the personifications of Charity and Peace (Agape and Irene) fulfil this office.

Jonas.—The prophet Jonas saved from death miraculously was a symbol of the Christian whose soul will be saved by God from the snares of Satan. At least two scenes were necessary to convey a clear notion of this symbol: (1) the casting of Jonas into the sea, and (2) his deliverance from imminent danger of death after the "great fish" had swallowed him. To make the symbol still clearer a third scene was added, in several frescoes, which shows Jonas reclining in safety under the gourd. These three scenes are depicted in the most ancient representations of the Jonas cycle in the catacombs, though in some instances one or more of them have been destroyed. All of them are preserved in two frescoes in the sacrament chapels.

The first of these frescoes shows a ship with sails set and wholly visible above water. Three persons with the prophet are on board; Jonas is leaning over the ship's side, his hands stretched forward as in the act of diving. A sailor amidships is advancing towards the prophet to carry out his own request: "Take me and cast me into the sea."[1] The sailor's head is partly turned towards the captain, who, inferentially, has just given the order. The third person standing at the end of the ship, with outstretched arms is praying; "and they cried unto the Lord."[2] Awaiting Jonas is the "great fish," all of which is visible.

This scene follows the sacred narrative closely; the fish is added in order that the fate of the prophet may be instantly brought home to the onlooker.

The second scene represents Jonas being cast forth in safety on the shore which, however, in most instances must be supplied. In a few cases a narrow strip of land, and once a tower-like edifice, represents the beach on which the prophet was thrown.

In the third picture of this cycle, Jonas is seen reclining or sleeping under the gourd. The most ancient example of this scene, in the crypt of Lucina, shows the prophet extended

[1] Jonas I, 12.
[2] Ibid., V, 14.

at full length, gazing drowsily forward. The plant which shelters him from the sun's rays is entwined around an arbor constructed of boards resting on poles, and forming a sort of roof over his head. A product resembling cucumbers or pumpkins is growing on the vines.

Modifications of various kinds, though none of them essential, were introduced into later representations of the Jonas cycle. After the cycle became familiar two scenes only were, in several instances, considered sufficient; a fourth was added occasionally for reasons of symmetry.

The peculiar type of sea-monster representing the "great fish" is one of those chimerical creations common in ancient art. Its selection by Christian artists was not, however, accidental. The "fish" is represented with the head of a dragon, which animal was a symbol of death or the "infernal dragon." It always appears in the cycle of Jonas, and its absence from such a picture as that of the ship in the tempest is *a priori* proof that this has no reference to the story of the prophet.

The Prophecy of Isaias.—The well-known picture of the prophecy of Isaias is another instance of the liberty which the symbolic character of their work gave to Christian artists. The prophet clad in the philosopher's pallium is evidently pronouncing the words: "Behold a virgin shall conceive." In his left hand is a roll, the right is elevated in the gesture accompanying the word "behold." To illustrate the fulfilment of the prophecy the Virgin and Child are represented as well as Isaias. Inspired too by the frequent mention in Isaias of the light which would illuminate Jerusalem at the coming of the Messiah, the artist placed a star over the heads of the Virgin and Child. Altogether it would be difficult to conceive a more striking or admirable representation.

A sufficient number of examples have been noticed to convey an idea of the origin and purpose of representations purely Christian in character. In all is manifest the care of the artist to exclude everything not required for the intelligible expression of the symbol. "The pictures present only the kernel of the fact." The influence of classic on Christian art too, though real, was limited. The technical skill of the Christian artist was, at least in the beginning, acquired of

necessity in the classical schools; decorative motives in the catacombs are also traceable to the same source; but there is no ground for assuming a direct influence of pagan art on representations specifically sacred. These must be regarded as independent creations of Christian art. Wilpert regards it as evident also that certain paintings, such as the most ancient Eucharistic frescoes, the ship in the tempest, scenes of judgment and the like, manifest in their origin and development a degree of thought, a theological sentiment, which can with difficulty be supposed in simple painters. Hence the necessity of assuming the coöperation or direction of the ecclesiastical authorities.

Recapitulation.—We have seen that in frescoes of the first century elements purely decorative predominated over those of a religious character, as well as the natural explanation of this circumstance. The case is reversed in the second and following centuries; biblical, symbolic subjects occupy the chief place, decoration is secondary. The decoration of cemeterial monuments was probably executed under the direction of the ecclesiastical authorities, but the artist was by no means hampered by undue interference. The logical sequence of sacred representations had to be observed—further than this surveillance did not proceed. For example, in the splendid cycle of paintings in the *Capella Greca* several motives are included, which are evidently the result of the artists' initiative. In the distribution of the subjects, too, they enjoyed full liberty, and the skill displayed by them in this particular deserves attention, even when the execution is defective.

The symbolic scope of biblical representations sometimes induced the artist to depart from nature. Sheep are depicted occasionally with horns like those of goats, and doves in a manner far from natural. The symbol rather than the reality influenced such deviations. The want of proportion frequently noticeable is due to the same cause as, *e. g.*, the ark of Noah, so small that he alone has scarcely sufficient accommodation, and the tall seamen in the diminutive boat of Jonas.

Among the specifically sacred pictures the original types of the first and second centuries were, in several instances, copied without important changes during the centuries follow-

ing. Of these the best known examples are the frescoes of the Good Shepherd, Daniel in the den of the lions, Moses striking the rock, and the three children in the furnace. The types of Jonas and Lazarus, on the other hand, underwent frequent modifications up to the end of the second century. In each of the former cases the symbol was evidently regarded as incapable of further simplification; in the latter improvements were regarded as desirable. These observations are also true of the new cycle introduced in the third century.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

FRENCH AND GERMAN IN THE UNIVERSITY.

The catalogues of our American schools which rank as academies or colleges usually announce courses in French and German. The reasons for including the study of these languages in general education are obvious. First of all, there is the educational value. It is admitted that intellectual training may be imparted by teaching French and German as well as by teaching the classics. Then, ability to speak the modern languages is regarded as an accomplishment which, naturally, has its social advantages. More practical still for the business man is the knowledge of these languages which he may use either in conversation or in correspondence. Thus it is evident that an institution which claims to prepare young men or young women for practical life should, in its own interests as well as in the interest of its students, afford a thorough drill in the modern tongues. The graduate who has profited by the opportunities which the college affords him for learning these languages will be the better equipped for his life-work whether he take this up at once or devote further time to advanced study.

The university offers the student who has received in college a general education, facilities for specialization. It prepares him for the work of his profession and enables him, if such be his preference, to take up a particular line of scientific investigation. It consequently must provide the necessary means of research and, on the other hand, must insist that the student make use of these means. The man who is in earnest needs of course no urging to make him follow the work in the laboratory, if that be required in his specialty, or to keep him in the library if that contains the materials which he needs. It is also quite clear that a considerable amount of information on almost any subject can be gotten from books in English and from periodicals published in England or in the United States. But the university provides both standard works and current literature from foreign countries, especially from France and Germany. If it failed to do this it would be justly criticised for narrowing instead of broadening the student's view. And

it would be equally open to criticism if it permitted the student to pursue his work without adequate knowledge of the entire literature bearing on his subject. Probably its most severe critic would be the student himself, not perhaps during his period of residence, but in the whole period of his later experience. To the question: Why does the university require of its students a knowledge of French and German, the first answer given in the most general terms is this: Because, in the absence of such knowledge, the university cannot do its whole duty toward the student nor expect from the student the full performance of his duty.

What this answer implies every teacher in the university understands. The whole matter, indeed, is so clear that any attempt at detailed statement can only result in truisms and commonplaces. To the university student also the conviction is soon brought home that he cannot make much headway in his work without the help of French and German. The trouble is that this discovery is sometimes made too late, or made just when every moment is needed for the work of investigation. And no surprise could be more discouraging than that which one feels in finding oneself without a key to the store of knowledge that lies before one. Regret at not having "elected" one or both languages in college is of course useless. Consolation may be derived from the memory of years spent on Latin and Greek; but it will not translate the French and German texts. The vague expectation that the supply of books in the vernacular would amply suffice and that he would "get through somehow" turns out, during the student's first month in the university, to be an illusion. With an otherwise excellent general course, attested by his B.A. diploma, he finds himself handicapped. And at the outset of his specialized study he falls back to the ranks of the "conditioned."

I believe that much annoyance and much loss, or at any rate, tardy use of time would be spared if the university were to modify in certain respects its requirements concerning the languages in question. It is customary to state that candidates for the Doctorate in Philosophy must possess a reading knowledge of French and German, and that they must give evidence of such knowledge when they present their application

for the degree. As the application may be held back until the student is within an academic year of his final examination, it may happen that during the first two years of his work he toiled on with little or no knowledge of French and German, *i. e.*, simply working and shaping the necessary tools at the same time. Would it not be better to insist that the evidence of ability to read the languages be given when the student begins his work for the degree? Whether the degree is one in philosophy or one in law or even one in theology, matters not. The preparation for the doctorate in any faculty implies a quality and an amount of work which no candidate will or can accomplish who is unable to read the literature contained in French and German publications.

Now it is obvious that the university would, so far as its own work is concerned, be the gainer by such modifications; there would be greater uniformity in the significance of its degrees and greater efficiency in each of its departments. But in order to secure the desired results, something more than rules and announcements is needed. The reasons for requiring French and German should be more generally understood. Though the student during his course in the college or theological seminary cannot be expected to appreciate by anticipation the methods and requirements of the university, he should at least know why this or that is a necessary part of his preparation for the university. As he may occasionally ask in regard to any subject in the curriculum—*cui bono?* a plain statement, dealing with very elementary things ought to be of service to him and yet give no offence to the knowing ones.

One of the first items of knowledge that drops quietly into the student's mind on entering the university is the fact that no single book "contains it all." The habit acquired in college of following the text-book in the letter and in the spirit must give way to a larger and freer sort of study. There are no doubt comprehensive works—encyclopedias and dictionaries—which enclose whole masses of information; and there are outlines and handbooks which are indispensable guides. Each of these, let us say, represents the condition which a particular science has reached at a given date. But in the meantime scientific thought has flowed steadily onward; and

the channel through which it flows is the periodical literature, the reviews, journals and monographs which are published day by day. In these appears all that is recent and actual—original articles, discussions, notices of new books,—the world's work in science. Of these some are in English, the majority in other languages. What the exact proportion is for each department of science, it would be difficult to say; but an examination of statistics would probably show that, of the more important publications, our language can claim about one-third for some sciences and considerably less for others.

Let us now suppose the case of a student, who, after finishing with honor a first-class college course, becomes a candidate for the doctorate. He is talented and industrious; but he knows nothing of French or German. What are his prospects for doing work of a university character?

He can select his "major and minor subjects," follow lectures, take notes and look up the literature so far as this happens to be in English. But the references given by his instructors to works in French or German are for him without meaning. He has to omit, in large measure, the collateral reading which the course requires, and he consequently loses what ought to be the principal outcome of his attendance in the lecture-hall.

He may, it is true, acquaint himself with the methods of research and apply these either in verifying the results obtained by others and published in English or in solving some minor problem suggested as a preliminary to his work for the degree. But when he comes to select a larger problem which he is to investigate on his own account, he is in no position to locate it accurately, to ascertain what has been done already in that particular field or to appreciate the actual trend of thought. The finer ramifications of the problem he does not even suspect. A bibliography means for him a list of books and articles in the vernacular; and these abound in mysterious references to "foreign" publications. Now and then he finds relief in a translation, the standard works especially being often accessible in English. But the literature that he chiefly needs is still afar off; periodicals are rarely translated.

As an important part of his preparation for the doctorate

is an acquaintance with the leading problems and theories in his chosen field, the student is supposed to share in the work of the journal club, seminar, academy or other association formed for the discussion of scientific topics. Opportunity is given him to prepare summaries of articles, reviews of books, critical estimates of the work done by other investigators and accounts of current scientific movements. Not infrequently the seminar takes up for study some classic in the particular province of thought with which the school or department deals. Or again, the whole time of the seminar may be occupied in tracing the development of an important concept from its earliest appearance to its present form.

The coöperation which may be expected of a student who reads neither French nor German will not be of the "stimulating" sort. He will probably glean something from the discussions; but he will not acquire that habit of going to the sources of information which is essential to thoroughness nor will he interpret the thought of others with that accuracy which alone makes possible fair and objective criticism. A student of philosophy to whom Kant is known only through translations is surely no better off than those whom he takes to task for not reading St. Thomas in the Latin of the *Summa*.

The mediæval scholar enjoyed, in this respect, a decided advantage. Latin was not only the language of the books and the schools: it was also the means of communication between students of various nationalities. There was, as a result, a large cosmopolitan view of everything pertaining to science. Though travel was slow and difficult and though postal facilities, as we understand them, did not exist, the men of Oxford, Paris and Bologna were by no means strangers to one another. Through the common medium, Latin, there was constant interchange of thought that made all Europe a vast republic of letters long before the modern European languages had developed. With the growth of these there came a deeper marking of national boundaries and a more thorough differentiation of national customs, policies and educational methods. However important this separation may be for political life, it can have no recognition in the world of science. While it may and does affect the organization of secondary schools in

each country, it should not influence the university spirit. For the university student, only error and wrong are foreign. The same broadness of thought and sympathy that marked the mediaeval scholar should be found in his modern successor. The common medium is no longer employed—except in theological lectures and text-books. But there is active co-operation and a free exchange of thought, in respect of which differences of language are not considered. Ability to share in this commerce of ideas through a knowledge of the modern tongues is not an accomplishment; it is simply a requisite which should be taken for granted when the student enters upon university work.

The knowledge of French and German as a key to scientific literature is needed by all university students. It does not imply thorough acquaintance with the history and structure of the languages; though it does mean that the student shall be able to translate accurately and shall be familiar with technical terms and expressions. It is rather an instrument to be employed in all departments of the university than a subject to be treated in a special department.

But the university must include in its scope the scientific study of the languages. Philology means something more than parsing and translating. In a broad sense it is the science which reconstructs the life of a people. It studies the social and political institutions, the private and public customs, the forms of religious belief and practice in which the spirit of a nation manifests itself. It traces the growth of artistic production in poetry, music, architecture, painting and sculpture. Above all, it investigates the language and literature through which the human mind in various ages and countries has found expression. It is, in a word, the science of the *Geistesleben.*

Dealing more particularly with the language of a nation—Greece or Rome, England, Germany or France—philology undertakes a critical examination of sources, monuments and texts. These it interprets in the light of all that is known regarding the conditions in which a given work was produced. The origin of words, idioms and constructions, the influence of author upon author, the connection of language with language, the laws of the variation of speech, the forms of script and the

vicissitudes of each codex, are among the subjects which the philologian handles.

This, obviously, is a study of language which in range and method exceeds the limits of the ordinary college course. The undergraduate who masters the rules of grammar and prose composition, is not concerned with textual and verbal criticism. When he translates his Cicero or Demosthenes he rarely entangles himself in dialectic variations. Primitive uses of moods, tenses and cases do not interfere with his Latin or Greek themes. And it sometimes happens that he gets at the sense of his classic author without too many details of archaeology —as though the meaning were as recent as the print which he reads.

Nevertheless, he is, perhaps unknowingly, benefiting by the results of philological research. If he has at hand a more correct text, a better grammar and a fuller lexicon than those which were formerly used, he should thank the philologian. The history of classic literature which he peruses so easily represents, in its very conciseness, a vast deal of labor and erudition. The improved methods of teaching which guide him to more thorough knowledge and impart a more perfect discipline are so many applications to the general work of the college of special training in philology. What is wrought out in patience and fineness of detail at the university and what to the outside view seems of no more consequence than a breathing or subscript, makes its way gradually back to the beginnings of language study and brings even elementary work in line with advanced research.

We thus come upon a very practical aspect of our subject. The scientific study of any language as it is pursued in the university, is the best means to prepare for teaching that language in college. The man who has received a philological training in French or German meets his class of college students with a wealth of information which he could not have otherwise obtained. Viewing his own college experience in the light of his later studies, he realizes more clearly the difficulties which have to be overcome and he understands more thoroughly the need of adjusting collegiate instruction to the actual situation of linguistic science. He does not make the mistake of

thrusting upon his students a mass of details and a refinement of method which properly belong to the university. His sense of proportion saves him from such extremes. But he can and does so weigh and regulate every element in his teaching as to equip the student liberally for advanced courses. If he has acquired fluency in speaking French or German, so much the better; but this acquisition alone, without the requisite training in philology, will not make him a teacher of language. On the other hand, it may be safely asserted that philological training, even in the absence of ability to speak a language, will render the teacher's work efficient.

An important result of such teaching is the enlarged concept of the science of language which the student gradually forms. He learns that the French and German which the college course provides are comparatively small sections in the field of Romance and Germanic languages. He is in a measure prepared to understand the work of specialization carried on in the university and the organization of departments which to the uninstructed must appear overdone in the complexity of divisions and the multiplication of courses. He is not likely to find a stumbling-block or a cause for surprise in the minuteness of research and the subtleties of criticism by which each advance in knowledge is secured. In all probability he has been stimulated to look a little beyond the present confines of science and to venture upon new lines of investigation. At any rate he has learned that, chiefly through the science of philology, the modern languages no less than the classics, have become the common property of the scientific world. The native of France or Germany has undoubted advantages in the study of his own language; but he acknowledges enthusiastic rivals in the trained philologians of other countries, just as the student of English or Keltic must confess his indebtedness to continental scholars.

One thinks correctly that the best place to study German is Germany. And it is equally intelligible that the American student of philology should harbor an ambition to finish his course in a European university. Those, on the other hand, who are unable or unwilling to go abroad are not thereby condemned to academic stagnation. Our American universities

offer ample facilities for work in the languages. The older institutions as well as those more recently founded have built up departments of philology which will bear comparison with corresponding departments in Berlin and Paris.

University catalogues do not give any idea of library equipment, of collections like the Germanic Museum at Harvard, of associations like the Cercle Français at Chicago, or of special lectures and conferences given each year by eminent scholars from Germany and France. These accessories serve in the first instance as complements to the regular university courses and as means of culture to many persons who are not enrolled as university students. But they also attract the attention of the general public and they indicate the true method of preserving and spreading in the New World that knowledge of the European tongues which is of real value in our educational work and our social endeavor. So it happens that the universities, which are the work-shops of detailed philological research, become centers of influence which affect the humblest lover of the fatherland and which eventually will merge in our national life all the best elements—the humanizing factors—contained in the literatures of Europe.

Now the significant fact is this: there does not exist within the limits of the United States a department of Romance or Germanic philology under the control and forming an integral portion of a Catholic institution. We have French and German organizations, newspapers, parishes and schools; and each of these is doing its own work in its own way. But the really effective work in behalf of the languages is done by the non-Catholic universities; and to these the student must go who is in search of thorough philological training. To this practical end we are led after accepting without hesitation or demurrer the whole series of arguments, psychological and otherwise, which prove the essential connection between language and religion. Every one of these arguments wins solemn approval from universities which, though not particularly concerned with anybody's religion, are very much in earnest about the growth of their French and German departments.

The question now arises: Is there any special reason for establishing similar departments in a Catholic university?

For reply one might point to the fact that the beginnings of modern philology were due to Catholics. The Renaissance movement, in Italy especially, was encouraged and actively supported by the Church. In the northern countries also, during the first period of the revival, some of the most distinguished philologians were Catholics. Petrarch, Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona, Cardinals Bembo and Sadolet in Italy, Vives in Belgium, Justus Lipsius and his disciples at Louvain, rank high among the founders of the science. It is fitting that the Catholic student of literature should be acquainted with the spirit and work of these pioneers. For a Catholic university it is a duty to appreciate and revere the broadminded Pontiffs who honored and protected more than one brilliant leader in the restoration of letters. For the Catholic people at large, it is well to know that the Church which fostered Scholasticism with its severely technical forms, was likewise the patron of the *artes humaniores.*

The ardor with which classic studies were taken up not only by the Italians, the natural heirs of the Latins, but also by the Germans, influenced, as is well known, the development of the vernacular. Humanism dominated in the schools to such an extent that the mother tongue was often neglected. The excess to which formalism in education was carried naturally led to a reaction. Both in France and in Germany there arose a movement in favor of the vernacular. This brought into clearer light those earlier growths—the beginnings of French and German literature which had preceded both the Reformation and the Renaissance. Now throughout the Middle Ages the Church exerted her influence, not only upon the teaching in the universities, but also upon the customs and language of the common people. Popular songs, dramas, legends, epic and lyric poetry were inspired for the most part by religious belief and ecclesiastical tradition. Many of the first dramatic productions had ecclesiastics for their authors. Though Latin was the language of the Church and of the learned world, the people were instructed in their own tongue by sermons, hymns and catechetical exercises. The Bible itself, as is now generally admitted, had been translated into German before the days of Luther; and the first works that came from the printing-

press were published under Catholic auspices. Not only had the Church preserved through centuries the classics of Greece and Rome; she became, by the very nature of her ministration, the most powerful agency in the formation and diffusion of the vernacular in each land.

Toward facts of this sort, the attitude of many Catholics at the present time is somewhat peculiar. They rejoice at every new evidence of the mediæval glories of the Church and they applaud the historian who exultingly points out or reluctantly concedes that the "Dark Ages" are fairly luminous for those who have eyes. Then with a certain generous pride they look on while scholars, for the most part non-Catholic, bring to light, criticize, re-edit and explain the writings that belong to the ages of faith. I think that this attitude is not to be blamed; interest and sympathy, however aroused, are surely helpful. But one may be pardoned for wishing that in this modern renaissance Catholics could claim the foremost place. With materials so rich stored up by our ancestors, it would seem but natural that we should be the first to open these treasures to the world. If scholarship pure and simple can accomplish so much, it would certainly accomplish more, especially in the way of interpretation, were it quickened by the sympathetic insight of Catholic feeling and faith. Philology is busy with the letter; but it cannot afford to neglect the spirit.

Conversely, the precise form of belief often turns upon a word. To say nothing of biblical texts, we all know what controversies have been waged around definitions and decrees; and we appreciate the careful accuracy which mark the official utterances of the Church. Somewhat akin to this bearing of language upon dogmatic formulas is its importance in determining the earliest religious beliefs and practices of a people. While we may ascertain from Latin documents what was taught, we have to look to the vernacular for the reflex of that teaching and the expression of popular faith. A complete account of the development of Christianity in France and Germany must include the discussion of those sources which reveal the primitive forms of national speech. Church history must often appeal to philology—and must think itself

fortunate when philologians have not already drawn up an adverse decision. It is so easy when a theory is in question to read the appropriate meaning into words which, in their earliest usage, are extremely elastic. The historian who aims at accuracy will find in philology indispensable aids. A university leans upon the departments of German and French for its work in regard to the Middle Ages, as it holds fast to the departments of Latin and Greek for research in the first three centuries.

It is not alone, however, in the remote past that we find Catholic contributions to the literatures of France and Germany. In both these countries at the present time the Church is represented by scholars and writers of the highest rank. Their publications should be made accessible to American readers by the work of intelligent translators. For the accomplishment of this task, something more is required than the ability to read the languages. The literature that is most needed in this country is not the lighter sort nor the purely popular nor even the strictly devotional, though all this is in a way useful. It is rather the productions of specialists in theology, philosophy, history and apologetics that ought to appear in English dress. In one field particularly, that of the history and science of education, there is scarcely any literature from Catholic sources in our language; while in German and French there are books and collections of recognized value. The best equipment for translating such works is a thorough knowledge of the subjects which they discuss. A mere mechanical rendering of the text by one who is unable to grasp its inner meaning may possibly be correct; but it will not convey to the English reader the full thought of the original. The specialist, on the contrary, habituated to the methods, the principles and the technical language of science, is in a position to translate with accuracy and judgment even the finer nuances of the author's phrase. Selection, adaptation and comment, so far as these may be called for, presuppose of course scientific training.

It is not claimed that the work of translation should be set before the university student as an equivalent or a substitute for independent research. Much less is it suggested

that for our supply of Catholic literature we are to content ourselves with borrowing and importing. But it may be truly said that in our actual circumstances one important function of the university is to act as a medium for the diffusion in this country of all that is best in the Catholic thought of Europe. The only alternative is to leave the work of translation to non-Catholic scholars like those who have given us the various English translations of the Fathers or those who are now interpreting the choicest products of the mediæval mind. If men outside the Church feel justified in translating such a work as Hefele's "History of the Councils," others will follow their example and reap the benefit. It is only what is to be expected from students who enjoy, in the well organized philological departments of the various universities, every facility for instruction and research.

In The Catholic University of America, the School of Letters comprises these departments: Comparative Philology and Sanskrit, Semitic and Egyptian, Latin, Greek, Keltic and English. The need of French and German is felt by the student as soon as he enters any of these departments and begins to use the library. In each of them he finds a large percentage of publications from Germany and France. Ability to read these is as necessary for the student of English or Keltic as it is for the student of classic philology. I do not refer to the fact that our language contains much that is Norman or Saxon in origin; but rather to a condition in the scientific world which makes French and German indispensable for any line of philological work. It is a question, not of studying the derivation of English, but of getting information about the work, methods and results of continental scholars who make English their specialty. And the same is true of study in any of the departments mentioned above.

There is, however, a more urgent need for establishing departments of French and German. In the absence of these the existing departments, English and Keltic especially, are limited in their efficiency. They cannot offer the student any great variety of study-groups within the school of letters, and they are consequently obliged to depend upon departments in other schools for the combination of subjects which is

required for degrees. While it is true that all the languages are in some way allied and that certain features of method are applied to the study of each and all, the fact remains that the specialist must select those minor subjects which are more closely related to his principal subject. Hebrew and Keltic are at best "distant relations"; nor does one expect a close affinity between Coptic and English. The main purpose of the university in requiring a combination of subjects is to balance the necessary narrowing of specialized study with a broad view of cognate sciences. This is readily attained both in the Romance group and in the Germanic group. The former includes French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Rumanian; the latter, German, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Icelandic and Gothic. There is not as yet a course in any of these at The Catholic University.

What is said here of the School of Letters applies to other divisions of the University: no department can do the right kind of work so long as it is isolated or incomplete. Still, viewing the whole situation, I think that the establishment of French and German departments would be of the greatest utility. It would provide instruction that is needed by every graduate student and would strengthen considerably the present organization. It would secure the proper training of those who intend to teach these languages in the colleges and of the college students who look forward to university work. It would bring into the entire life of the University those essentials of culture which close contact with the languages and literatures of two great nations implies.

EDWARD A. PACE.

TREVELYAN'S AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

O thou, that sendest out the man
To rule by land and sea,
Strong mother of a Lion-line,
Be proud of those strong sons of thine
Who wrench'd their rights from thee!

These verses of Tennyson happily suggest the spirit in which the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan commenced and still continues his admirable history.[1] Of that instructive work three volumes have already appeared, but as they discuss only the events between the repeal of the Stamp Act and the battle of Princeton at least two additional volumes would seem to be required to complete the design of their author. So far as it has been carried this latest contribution to the literature on the War for Independence is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and philosophical that has yet been offered to the public. One who has mastered its contents will find in the combined labors of our own historians of that era but little to learn. The author's ample and accurate knowledge of the succession of changes in British politics lends to every page of his work the interest of a romance, and readers familiar with our special studies of the Revolution will be surprised to find treated by this latest English historian many topics which are really new. Those features, for the first time fully developed, will presently be noticed. Meanwhile it may be remarked that they render unnecessary any apology for the appearance of his new study on the American Revolution.

That the author regards his theme as only a conspicuous incident in the development of the British constitution is evident from the chapter which at the outset he devotes to the youth, the companions and the maturer years of Charles James Fox. This singular introduction to a history of the American

[1] "The American Revolution," by the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., Part I., 1899, 1 vol., pp. 434; Part II., 1903, 2 vols.

Revolution has the merit of giving the reader a glimpse of those seminaries of learning, the race track and the gaming table, in which was completed the education of many an aristocrat of that epoch. By excerpts from the youthful correspondence of Fox and his friends the author describes the travels, the pastimes and even the follies that engaged their attention, and skillfully suggests the graver questions by which some of them were destined soon to be embarrassed. Concerning every phase of Fox's career Sir George is well qualified to speak. His entertaining sketch is in no sense irrelevant, nor is his work to be criticised as lacking historical proportion, for the author's point of view is not that of his American reader. Indeed, it is the attempt in writing of those confused times to isolate America that is responsible for some of the truncated expositions of this important portion of modern history.

While from the author's broader conception of his theme the criticism is shallow that objects to his opening chapter on the youthful escapades of Charles Fox, the work, as we shall endeavor to show, is liable to a more serious objection in that it fails to furnish an adequate account of the causes which produced the revolt of the colonies. Though it is not seriously to be expected that an account of the British settlements from 1607 should introduce a history of the Revolution, it is not unreasonable to demand in an exhaustive study at least a brief sketch of the more important events between the Treaty of Paris, 1763, and the repeal, three years later, of the famous Stamp Act. An examination of these questions would enable even a stranger to the subject to comprehend clearly the nature of the controversy between England and her American dependencies. The belief that such an outline will be of assistance to students of American history, and the hope that a future edition of the work will supply this defect encourage us to indicate the character of that addition to Sir George Trevelyan's valuable and interesting inquiry.

"Your nation, you see," wrote Frederick the Great to the Marquis d'Argens, "is blinder than you thought. These fools will lose their Canada and Pondicherry to please the Queen of Hungary and the Czarina." A brief interval proved the

truth of this royal prophecy, for by the fall of Quebec in 1759 and the surrender of Montreal during the following year all hope of founding a French empire in America was forever extinguished. This, however, was not the only disaster sustained by the arms of France, for while General Dupleix by his skill in the arts of war and intrigue had, in the short space of four years, made himself actual ruler of southern India, with its thirty millions of inhabitants, his dream of Asiatic dominion was brought suddenly to an end by the military genius of Robert Clive, whose great victory at Plassey in 1757 decided British supremacy in the affairs of the East.

The imperious energy and the lofty ambition of Pitt had aroused in his countrymen an enthusiasm which made them almost irresistible. From every quarter of the globe came tidings of the most brilliant successes. "We are forced to ask every morning," said Horace Walpole, "what victory there is, for fear of missing one." Thus the end of the Seven Years' War saw France by a succession of reverses stripped of nearly every important colonial possession; so complete, indeed, was her defeat that it was the purpose of Pitt not only to exclude her from the Newfoundland fisheries, a chief source of her maritime strength, but so to impair her resources that she could never again in commerce or in colonizing become a dangerous rival of Britain. The sudden death, in 1760, of George II, however, prevented Pitt from executing his intention of fully depressing the power of France.

Unlike his predecessor the new ruler, an Englishman by birth, by education and by sympathy, felt little interest in the welfare of Hanover, and by his influence discontinued the payment of those subsidies which alone had saved Frederick from certain destruction. From a condition of weakness and confusion the government of William Pitt had raised England to the highest degree of national renown. British fleets had destroyed the navy of France; British armies had wrested from her possession the fairest portions of America and India, and though the Great Commoner no longer directed the policy of government, the warlike spirit evoked by his genius still swept his countrymen forward from victory to victory. For her imprudent interference in reviving the Family Compact, Spain

was punished by the loss of both Floridas, and it was only a disagreement among her conquerors that restored Manila in the East and Havana in the West Indies, both of which had yielded to the invincible arms of the British. These achievements, the result of Pitt's statesmanship, would have won the gratitude of a more enlightened monarch than George the Third, in whom they appear to have excited no other sentiment than a feeling of disappointment, for in the talents and popularity of his great minister the king beheld only a formidable obstacle to his long-cherished purpose of developing the prerogative.

John Stuart, Earl of Bute, once the tutor, now became the chief minister of the young king to whose plans he yielded a most ardent support, and scarcely had he been raised to this new dignity when measures were undertaken to conclude a peace with the hereditary enemy. At the very time that the Duke of Bedford, chosen to arrange the preliminaries, passed amidst hisses through the streets of London on his way to Fontainebleau, he carried from his government instructions which in the Treaty of Paris were destined to change the relative positions of the two nations. After February 10, 1763, France was no longer the foremost power of Europe, Great Britain becoming thenceforth arbiter of the continent.

But not without a severe strain upon her financial resources did England become umpire of Europe and mistress of the seas. The generous subsidies to Prussia and the reckless expenditures of the Pitt-Newcastle ministry alarmed many of the ablest statesmen of the time. Indeed, so eminent an authority as Sir Robert Walpole had repeatedly declared that "the nation could not stand under a debt exceeding a hundred millions." The conclusion of peace was only less expensive than the conduct of the late campaigns, for the approval of a venal Parliament was secured by only the most lavish distribution of public money. The business of bribery was managed without observing even a pretence of secrecy. Members of the House of Commons flocked to the Pay Office, in which a shop had been publicly opened for their purchase. Bank-bills so low as two hundred pounds were exchanged for the promise of a vote, and in a single morning there were issued £25,000. Thus was effected the chief event of Bute's brief

ministry, and to the integrity and virtue of such legislators were committed the great and varied interests of an empire.

The terms of the treaty, though by no means dishonorable to England, fell far short of the national expectation. The undignified haste which marked its progress, not less than the Scotch nativity of its author, was a circumstance little adapted to reconcile Englishmen to its inferior advantages. From the violent storm raised by its publication neither the influence of the court nor the abilities of a host of pensioned writers could adequately protect the favorite, who, not to impair too greatly the popularity of his master, unexpectedly resigned April 8, 1763. George Grenville, designated for the succession by Lord Bute, became on the same day leader of the government.

Of undoubted ability and industry, carefully educated in the law, and, because of service in the House of Commons, thoroughly familiar with Parliamentary precedents, the new minister was singularly obstinate and self-sufficient. He was wholly destitute of the tact which enables statesmen to disarm opposition and appears to have been blind to the consequences of legislative acts. On nearly every question of importance he inclined strongly toward the assertion of authority. The death of one minister and the insignificance of another having left him without a rival in managing the vast interests of the empire built up by William Pitt, Grenville upon assuming office found the nation encumbered by a debt of one hundred and forty millions.

Political philosophers and political economists, the physicians of the state, had predicted after each augmentation of the public debt the ruin of their country. Macaulay says that Burke, alone among the statesmen of that era, was too wise to share in the general delusion. He was aware that rapid as was the increase of the public debt the resources of the nation developed still faster. Those who had expected calamity were consoled by the evidences of prosperity. In 1763, however, it was universally believed that the day of disaster was at hand. It was thought impossible for the nation to sustain the weight of its enormous debt. With characteristic clearness and brevity the historian Lecky describes the

national situation. "Taxation was greatly increased. Poverty and distress were very general, and it had become necessary to introduce a spirit of economy into all parts of the administration, to foster every form of revenue, and, if possible, to diffuse over the gigantic empire a military burden which was too great for one small island."

This picture presents the gloomy view of Grenville, for undoubtedly these were among the considerations which determined his resolution of taxing America. Long before his accession to power, however, his commercial system, at least in outline, had been considered and rejected by British statesmen. Walpole had winked at the extent and development of the illicit West Indian trade, which gave to British commerce so great an impetus. Imperial taxation for military purposes he had a quarter of a century earlier put aside as impolitic, and Pitt, at the outbreak of the great war with France, had refused to adopt even a less obnoxious method of raising a revenue in America. Shelburne would not consider seriously the plans of taxation and restraint that had been contemplated by Townshend and Bute, from whom Grenville inherited the essential features of his policy. The new system comprehended a rigid enforcement of the navigation acts, and, perhaps, not unconnected with this measure was an intention of establishing permanently in America a body of 10,000 British troops for whose maintenance it was decided to provide at least in part by a Parliamentary tax in the colonies. These were the measures which immortalized the incapacity of Grenville's administration and led ultimately to a division of the empire.

While the first of these measures was in contemplation tidings of the design of the ministry was received in Boston from the colonial agent, who asked counsel in the emergency. For some reason the General Assembly of Massachusetts took no action upon this information, but at the spring election of 1764 a Boston town-meeting gave the subject special consideration. For the guidance of newly-elected members a committee was appointed to prepare instructions. This important work, by a happy though natural choice of the committee, was assigned to Samuel Adams, one of the purest as well as one

of the ablest of American patriots. Already famous as a writer in the press, where he had labored in the popular cause for more than a decade, he was admirably qualified to draft the report.

We, therefore, your constituents [begins this celebrated document] take this opportunity to declare our just expectations from you. . . . We cannot help expressing our surprise that when so early notice was given by the agent of the intention of the ministry to burden us with new taxes, so little regard was had to this most interesting matter that the court was not even called together to consult about it till the latter end of the year. . . . There is no more room for delay. . . . It is the trade of the colonies that renders them beneficial to the mother country. . . . We are, in short, ultimately yielding large supplies to the revenues of the mother country, while we are laboring for a very moderate subsistence for ourselves. . . . But what still heightens our apprehension is, that these unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to more extensive taxations upon us. For if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and in short everything we possess or make use of? This, we apprehend, annihilates our charter-rights to govern and tax ourselves. It strikes at our British privileges, which, as we have never forfeited them, we hold in common with our fellow-subjects who are natives of Britain.

If taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?

As his Majesty's other North American Colonies are embarked with us in this most important bottom; we further desire you to use your endeavors that their weight may be added to that of this province; that by the united application of all who are aggrieved, all may obtain redress.

While motives of policy suggested the language of loyalty and dependence, it is not difficult to see behind these instructions the spirit of a determined patriot nor to realize that he had long and thoughtfully considered the whole question of the relation of the colonies to the mother country, for he furnished Americans with arguments that never ceased to be urged till the separation from Great Britain was complete.

In the Boston instructions is found the first public denial of the right of Parliament to tax the colonists without their

consent, and the first suggestion of a union of the colonies to secure a redress of grievances. It was also hinted that the perseverance of the ministry would diminish the American consumption of British manufactures. Patrick Henry had, indeed, in the month of December preceding given a shock to the conservative feelings of Virginia planters by declaring, during his argument in the celebrated Maurey case, that the "two-penny act," passed by their assembly in 1758, had all the characteristics of a good law, and being of general utility could not, consistently with the original compact between king and people, be annulled: that "a king who annuls or disallows laws of so salutary a nature, from being the father of his people degenerates into a tyrant and forfeits all right to obedience." By drawing into question the right of the crown to put an absolute negative upon the act of a colonial legislature, the Virginian orator merely revived in another form that struggle against prerogative which with varying success had long been maintained on both sides of the Atlantic. The resolutions of the Boston town-meeting, however, had a different purpose, marking, as they do, the first organized action against taxation.

The attempt of some historians to justify the policy of maintaining a military force in America may be briefly dismissed. "In the earlier stages of colonial history," says Mr. Lecky, "little had been done in the way of protection, because these poor and scattered communities appeared of little value either to England or to her enemies. British America, however, was now a great and prosperous country." This admission bases the new ministerial system upon considerations purely selfish. The same eminent authority regards the first successes of Pontiac "as a sufficient justification of the policy of establishing a small army in the colonies." It is not easy, however, to concur in this opinion. The time had gone by when the white man trembled at the warlike aspect of his savage foe. In America even school-boys could relate how before the advance of the superior race tribe after tribe had melted away; indeed, until an imperial army had assumed the defence of an extended frontier no serious injury had ever been inflicted with impunity. Neither Braddock nor Forbes had ac-

quired fame as Indian fighters, and in the intervening years the benefit of their experience appears to have been lost upon Bradstreet and even upon Amherst. If the presence of the French in North America did not require the existence of a standing army, it is not easy to perceive how their expulsion impaired the ability of the colonists to protect themselves against the Indian alone.

Though the design of reconquest, ascribed to the French, was a ground for the exercise of vigilance, it could not of itself justify the maintenance of a military force. Bodies of troops could be shipped from England as easily as from France, and in the event of unavoidable delay or of a surprise from the West Indies, the colonists could be trusted to protect themselves until the arrival of assistance from Europe. In short, the military establishment was resolved upon when the danger had disappeared. The protection of the fur trade and the occupation of the more important posts recently held by France were the only pretexts for keeping in America any military force whatever. The small and detached garrisons necessary for this service would have been too far removed from centres of population to excite any considerable distrust. When Americans were told that in the late war the vast outlay of the mother country gave stability to the colonies, it was replied that primarily England had in view her own advantages in the contest which they had assisted in bringing to so glorious a termination. Upon this question their reasoning appears unanswerable. The profits of the trade of Quebec and Louisiana would accrue to British merchants; their government, therefore, should bear the cost of defending these provinces, and the "small army" instead of being stationed in New York or Boston should have been quartered among the Indians and the fur traders of Detroit and Quebec.

Trade with the French and the Spanish West Indies not only stimulated the prosperity of the commercial centres in every colony but was a chief source of wealth to all New England. For the abundant supply of timber standing in her forests, for her fish and for her cattle these islands furnished both a convenient and profitable market. By the vessels engaged in this extensive trade cargoes of sugar and molasses

were unloaded at Boston and other ports. A Parliamentary statute of 1733 had imposed on both commodities a prohibitory duty, which but for the connivance or the indulgence of revenue officers would even then have accomplished the ruin of a flourishing commerce. When this law after several renewals was about to expire in 1763 the colonists actively opposed its reënactment, but Grenville was resolved to improve the finances in his own way, and against the successive remonstrances of colonial agents, of merchants and of even a royal governor, renewed the act, says Bancroft, in a form "greatly to the disadvantage of America."

Commissioners of customs, regarding their places as sinecures, had hitherto resided in England. Now they were ordered at once to their posts; the number of revenue officers was increased, and, to assist in executing the new regulations, warships patrolled the harbors and the coast. These were instructed to seize all vessels suspected of smuggling. Army officers, too, were commanded to coöperate. The jurisdiction of admiralty courts, in which cases were tried without juries, was greatly extended. Both the promise of emolument from confiscated property and the fear of dismissal for neglect of duty sharpened the vigilance of those engaged in enforcing the acts of navigation, and it was soon perceived that their unusual activity and violence threatened to destroy not only contraband, but menaced the very existence of even legitimate trade.

At this time £164,000 sterling was the estimated annual value of the Massachusetts fisheries; and to supply the provisions, casks and sundry articles yearly required in the business there was needed an additional capital of £23,700. The importance of this industry may be easily conjectured from the extent to which it had been carried by a single community. A rigorous execution of the Act of April, 1764, meant to Americans the annihilation of this natural and legal branch of commerce, for if the planters in the French West Indies could not sell their sugar and molasses, they would not buy fish, and any deficiency or any great irregularity in the supply of molasses would have been fatal to the distilleries of Boston and other New England towns. Ships would have been almost worthless on the hands of their owners, and the 5,000 seamen employed

yearly in carrying fish to Portugal and Spain would have been without an occupation. The severity of the new regulations, by which property amounting to £3,000 was soon swept into prize courts, coupled with the declared intention of raising by imperial authority a revenue for the defence of the colonies created a constitutional question of the very gravest character.

Without attending at every stage of the national development to the industrial situation, it is impossible to grasp firmly the philosophy of American history. The most cherished measures of Presidents and the cause of every great war, the speeches of leading statesmen and the fluctuating fortunes of political parties will be found to have been influenced chiefly by the industrial life of the people. This is one of the first facts to fix the attention of the student, and one which he would do well always to keep in mind.

The importunities of British merchants, who were creditors of American importers, as much at least as a feeling of tenderness for the colonists influenced Grenville to suspend for almost a year his purpose of laying a stamp duty on America. An expectation of mastering the subject was undoubtedly an additional cause of delay. His purpose, however, remained unchanged and neither petitions nor remonstrances nor even the solemn pledges of colonies, to honor as hitherto all royal requisitions, availed to overcome his obstinacy, and on February 6, 1765, in a carefully prepared speech he introduced his fifty-five resolutions for a stamp act.

Debate on this measure was languid, and one of the most momentous subjects ever before Parliament received, says Green, no more consideration than a bill for the repair of a country turnpike. In the Commons opposition was confined principally to Irish members or to those holding estates in Ireland or the West Indies. The debates are chiefly memorable for the eloquent and crushing retort of Colonel Barré, whose unpremeditated reply to Sir Charles Townshend described Americans as Sons of Liberty, a name by which opponents of the Stamp Act soon became known throughout the colonies. In the House of Lords the measure encountered neither protest nor opposition, and on March 22 it received the assent of the king. A parliamentary custom, which enter-

tained no remonstrance against a money bill, accounts in part for the slender courtesy with which were received all petitions against the Stamp Act.

The spirit aroused in America by the enactment of this measure, the methods of persuasion and intimidation by which the stamp distributors were induced to abandon their offices, and the meeting in New York during the same year of a Congress composed of delegates from nine colonies are topics familiar to even general readers. Nor is it necessary to dwell upon the repeal by the short-lived Rockingham ministry of this offensive law. For this satisfactory result Edmund Burke was chiefly responsible. An introductory chapter in the attractive style of Sir George Trevelyan upon the occurrences of these eventful years would, it is believed, greatly improve his valuable history. At any rate his work would then commence at the beginning of the misunderstanding between England and her American dependencies.

If we except the diverting pages concerning Charles Fox and his companions, this history may be said to begin with a reference to the demonstrations of grateful enthusiasm which everywhere in America greeted the tidings of the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766. It is doubtful, however, whether this general delight was shared by either John Adams or his cousin Samuel, and in England the King as well as his friends conceived for the authors of that conciliatory measure the most bitter dislike. The royal displeasure expressed itself by driving from power the supporters of Rockingham, and soon after under a more compliant ministry adopting, by a duty on tea, a new form of taxation. By this unexpected course was aroused among the colonists an indigation that far surpassed the outbreak which marked the first attempt upon their liberties.

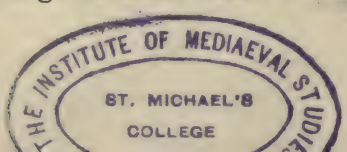
This chapter describes admirably the conduct of America under England's new provocation. The daily life as well as the manners of the colonists is favorably contrasted with that of the ruling class in Great Britain. The superiority of American women is established by the testimony of more than one of the polished officers serving under Rochambeau. Indeed, that fact had not been unobserved before. The author's brief sketch of John Adams is both felicitous and sympathetic,

that of Franklin faithful and entertaining. Both pictures are marked by great condensation and vivacity. Other civil leaders, like Samuel Adams, Hamilton and Jefferson are introduced by some strong stroke of character. The military chieftains, Putnam, Greene and Washington, we see quietly engaged at their customary occupations. The men who then ruled England are presented precisely as we know them from the literature of the period, and the author regrets that the destinies of his country were not intrusted to Chatham, Camden and the Irish orators, Barré and Burke.

In describing the military occupation of Boston a succeeding chapter states that "the crime of Massachusetts was that she refrained from buying British goods, and that she had petitioned the crown in respectful terms. Fifty regiments could not oblige her to do the one, or make her think that she had been wrong in having done the other." These sentiments, however, were not the sentiments of George III, for there was soon landed in Boston, among a people then as sober, enlightened and virtuous as any in the world, a large body of troops. One and a half years' friction between soldiers and citizens culminated in 1770 in the celebrated Boston Massacre. In the account of that disturbance, as in every page of his history, there is no doubt as to the sentiments of the author, who has little sympathy with the brood of contemporary American historians that have almost succeeded in proving the leaders in the War for Independence little more than a set of discontented rascals who deserved hanging for inviting into their respective communities a destructive and causeless war.

Following the example of American historians Sir George Trevelyan passes without observation the more serious outbreak on the Alamance, where in May, 1771, not fewer than 150 North Carolina farmers were killed or wounded for resisting the extortions of a royal governor, who had decreed himself, from the taxes of men, mostly dwellers in log cabins, a stately palace at Raleigh. As the imprudence of the king's representatives was an undoubted factor in producing the war, this incident deserves at least brief notice.

As the subject is of the greatest importance considerable space is given to the strife of British political parties. Among


THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S
COLLEGE

other topics discussed is the lack of harmony between Scotland and England. This is one of the phases of the Revolution that is but lightly touched by American historians. The biographical sketches, of which there are many, are always entertaining. They not only do not retard the movement of the main theme but assist materially in advancing it. The estimates of character are just, and they impress one favorably with the author's candor and penetration.

Throughout his work Sir George endeavors to be impartial. In those parts which treat of the Hessians, however, he ceases for the moment to act as judge and appears to assume the advocate. While it is undoubtedly true that the treatment of patriots by the Brunswickers and Waldeckers was too often marked by extreme severity, it is scarcely fair to convey by insinuation or by omission the idea that nearly all the outrages were committed by the German auxiliaries. Without going to Ireland for proofs of British brutality in suppressing rebellions we have in American annals evidence that the white followers of the Butlers and Hamilton surpassed in ferocity anything of which even the Hessians were capable. Nor in their ruthless treatment of patriots were the American loyalists one whit behind the foreign mercenaries.

On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!

A topic seldom or never emphasized by American writers is the attitude of British officers toward the colonists. In the present history that subject is fully examined, and there is adduced a mass of testimony to show that numbers of English Whigs refused without loss of popularity to serve in the war. The same feeling is shown to have existed in Ireland, from which but a comparatively small part of Howe's army was drawn. These facts must be admitted, and it was because of this indifference in both countries that the King and his "friends" were compelled to apply to Russia, which refused, and then to the German princes, who furnished soldiers to fight in America. Like Jefferson and other statesmen of '76 Trevelyan places upon the king the chief responsibility for producing and protracting the war. When France entered the contest, however, many of these friends of liberty overcame

their objections. In passing it should be remarked that for the purpose of proving the existence in England of a sentiment favorable to America the opinions of Irish statesmen are frequently quoted. However Burke may be classed by the present generation the electors of Bristol punished him for his interest in the welfare of Ireland.

The military phases of the struggle are firmly grasped and faithfully recorded. Little that is new was to be expected in this part of the story. The final chapter includes a discussion of colonial churches, of the "bishop question" and generally of the clergy of the Revolution. This section makes clear the bearing of religious controversies on the conduct of the war. Though the military narrative brings the record down only to the period after the battle of Princeton, what might be called the ecclesiastical history is continued to 1787.

It is impossible in a notice like the present to indicate the separate merits of every important division of a large work. The general character of Sir George Trevelyan's volumes, however, may be briefly summarized. His treatment of the intricate subject of British politics is ample and excellent, the military narrative unsurpassed. The temper of the author is beyond criticism, and his estimates of both men and events shrewd and well supported. His acquirements recall the wonderful stores of information possessed on a variety of subjects by his more celebrated uncle, but there is not in these volumes any attempt to imitate the brilliant rhetoric of Macaulay. The style, however, is clear and energetic, and, what is of greater value in an historian, conclusions are based upon facts examined by an excellent judgment. The succeeding volumes will be awaited with interest.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOL,
PHILADELPHIA.

PRAGMATISM IN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY.

As the result of an attempt on the part of philosophy to keep pace with our practical, up-to-date mode of living—deservedly styled strenuous—the new century has brought with it a system of speculative thought entirely novel. It has, however, before this time attracted but little notice as a distinct and unique departure from the old lines of philosophic science. In remote origin it is foreign, being like all modern speculation, which is generally either a development or an antagonism of the Kantian philosophy; in its upbuilding, its defenders and above all, in its spirit, it smacks decidedly of the American. Even this much said gives a true scent to the quick nostril of the historian. To affirm that something is in its nature distinctive of the United States gives almost sufficient evidence from which to build up the entire truth. After stating in brief the fundamental tenets and general trend of this peculiar philosophy,—henceforward to be recognized by the name Pragmatism, we will examine more in detail the causes, which gave rise to the movement and the history of its growth down to the present day.

The function of philosophy is, declares the pragmatist, to determine what definite difference it will make to you and to me at definite periods of our lives whether this world-formula or that world-formula be the one which is true. Primarily this is of course an epistemological question. The truth of any proposition, of any idea, any formula of philosophy, is its service-capacity. Its worth is to be determined by the number of cosmological and psychological enigmas it unravels, the assistance it gives to man in the pursuance of his ultimate end, in short by the amount of work it performs.

The doctrine stated in terms of metaphysics runs somewhat like the following: The *ultima ratio* of all being, the only reason why anything should continue to be what it is, be it the universal or the material and individual, is the end it serves; this constitutes its sole reason and its whole essence. It is somewhat inexact to term those principles metaphysical in

the sense that they belong to ontology, for, as we shall see later, they are nothing less than an attempt at supplanting ontology as mistress of sciences, wresting from her the keys of philosophical knowledge.

Though the most prominent living representatives of this school, Professors James, Royce and the rest, evidently found their formula in the writings of an American philosopher, Mr. C. S. Peirce, yet the seeds of this philosophy that are now budding, and the tonic that nourishes their steady growth are without doubt to be found in the *Microcosmus* of their old professor at Göttingen, Rudolph Herman Lotze.

Lotze is the originator of a speculative system termed by him a teleological idealism. In the main he resembles much his predecessors, especially Herbart, though he rightly objected to his being classed as a member and upholder of this school. His metaphysical principles are brief and clear. The world of worths is the key to the world of forms. The sufficient ground for all being and for all that takes place in the universe, is found in the idea of the good. That alone is truly real which is intended and required by the idea of good to be real. Direct or indirect subserviency to this idea on the part of other ideas constitutes the sum total of all truth. As for the cosmic or physical world—it forms nothing more than the objective appearances, without which the above-mentioned interdependence of ideas, the teleological process in things, could not be sensibly perceived. Metaphysics, then, has not its beginning and sufficient reason within itself, but in ethics, which philosophy should regard as of primary worth. It may be well to mention here that it was on these logical deductions, and on the doctrine of the supremacy of the world of worths, Ritschl, another scholar of Göttingen, based his famous theology, with its judgments of worth, thoughts on the essence and existence of God, of the world, etc. This is in a way a development along theological lines of a principle manifestly in accordance with pragmatism, and we cannot now see how the name pragmatic theology applied to it in this sense could be condemned as a misnomer.

The pragmatic method of dealing with our concept of reality was first advocated by the afore-mentioned Mr. Charles

Sanders Peirce, in an article written for the *Popular Science Monthly* of January, 1878. It was in this series of discussions also, that the word "pragmatism" was first used with the present signification. The writer analyzes Descartes' doctrine of *clear and distinct perception* and the guarantee it gives of the truthfulness of ideas, and concludes that the question has been merely pushed a step further, thickening rather than dispelling the haze that hovers over and envelops this universe of ours. The study of Hegel brought no inspiration, so he set about explaining to the satisfaction of his own mind the perplexing problem. Strange to say, he began by supposing axiomatically that the end of man is not thought but action. Thought, which is merely the means to the act, comprises two distinct activities, irritation and belief. In every thought there must be placed before us two or more possible ways of acting; these alternatives, unless a reflex has already been established, irritate or incite us to what is vulgarly called thought, that is, to the weighing of each hypothesis. This process may be a matter of a few seconds or may persist through years, all depending upon the gravity of the propositions. Belief in the truth of one of these or the falsity of all will complete our thought; this belief, if the thought be a true thought, will determine us to some particular mode of action. The reason is evident; we invariably decide the truth or falsity of propositions by an examination of their results in the form of conduct which they dictate. To arrive at an analysis of our ideas, we should consider what effects, that might possibly have practical results, the object of our conception may have. Then—our conception of these effects, or, to translate the doctrine into the language of ontology, the practical results derived from it are the "*raison d'être,*" and essence of being.

We have seen above that belief enters into the composition of all true thought, no matter how trivial the object. Now if any two such beliefs appease the same doubt, which is the first element of thought, by producing the same rule of action, they are no more two distinct beliefs than is an air played on an instrument in two different keys,—two distinct tunes. "Indeed," Peirce remarks, "we in our every day Logic constantly

appeal to this principle in a disguised form. Our 'reductio ad absurdum' consists simply in demonstrating how contradictory results will follow from the hypothesis under consideration, and on this ground alone we are secured in our belief that the hypothesis and whatever it represents is not real."

It is often the case, says Mr. Peirce, that we do not understand our own mental decision. For example, there are myriads of cosmologists who persist in saying that they do not know what force is; whereas, in truth, they have a very clear idea of it. Question them, and they will tell you all the possible effects of force; how, as a result of it, there is produced acceleration, positive or negative. Now, whether we say, "Force is an acceleration" or "force causes an acceleration" is only a question of grammatical propriety; the meaning in both cases is the same.

We have already many objections to introduce in criticism of theories to our eyes so rashly illogical, but for the present, let us pass on in silence, remembering that Mr. Peirce appeals to this pragmatism more as a method for obtaining clearness, precision and uniformity in thought, than as an infallible system.

The philosopher who next comes to our notice, and the American who in his writings bears the closest resemblance to Lotze, and his *Idealism of Purpose,* is Josiah Royce, Professor of the History of Philosophy at Harvard University.[1] Finality, will, the operation of purpose and design are, for him, the supreme categories of being. In a series of lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, and lately published under the title "The World and the Individual" he defines being as "simply that which expresses or embodies the complete internal meaning of a certain absolute system of ideas—a system, moreover, which is genuinely implied in the true internal meaning or purpose of every finite idea, however fragmentary." The only means we have of knowing and studying particular being is the idea. What, then, accord-

[1] In the current number of the *Philosophical Review* (March, 1904), Professor Royce, while proclaiming himself to be, in the broadest sense of the word, a pragmatist, emphasizes the importance of the concept of the (teleological) Absolute in his system, and criticizes the methods and conclusions of the "pure pragmatists."

ing to him, will be the nature and relative value of ideas? "They are that state of consciousness which is, at least, the partial expression or embodiment of a single conscious purpose."

Our intelligent ideas never consist of mere images of the objects, but always involve a consciousness, of how we propose to act towards the things of which we have ideas. For example, a person visits a museum with a friend, and seeing for the first time a curious looking implement, asks his companion what it is. If he were to receive the answer, "an astrometer," little or none of the required information would be imparted, supposing him, of course, to be equally unversed in the science of the heavens and Greek roots. We would not be surprised or shocked if the seeker after truth should persist in his question, putting it this time in a more complete, comprehensive form, and one less liable to be answered, or rather evaded by an equivocation. We expect him to say, "Yes, I know the name may be an astrometer, but what is the purpose its inventor had in making it and how is this intention carried out in the use of the instrument?" or to use the words of Royce: "What is its internal meaning, which is not revealed to my senses?" Royce himself says by way of illustration "a sword is an object that you would propose to use or regard in one way, while a pen is to be used in another; your idea of the object involves the memory of the appropriate act." In other words he seems to affirm that the intention which existed in the Supreme Intelligence, when He called an object from the state of possible to that of real existence, and the consequent realization of this intention constitutes the entity what it is, and that substance is only our way of representing, as it were, materially, what objectively and really is a pure idea.

In his Ingersoll lecture "The Conception of Immortality" (Boston, 1900) Royce establishes the immortal character of the human soul on the principle of individuation, and this in turn upon finality. In demonstrating the truth of the former he states that the proof of immortality lies simply in these plain considerations: (1) The world is a rational whole, a life wherein the Divine Will is uniquely expressed. (2) Every

aspect of the absolute life must therefore be unique with the uniqueness of the whole, and must mean something that can only get an individual expression. (3) But in this present life while we constantly intend and mean to be and to love and know individuals, there are, for our present form of consciousness, no true individuals to be found or expressed with the conscious materials now at our disposal. I know only that our various meanings, through whatever vicissitudes of fortune, consciously come to what we individually, and God in whom alone we are individuals shall together regard as the attainment of our unique place, and of our true relationships both to other individuals and to the all-inclusive Individual, God Himself.

Man you can define *"in specie," "in individuo"* never. For example, there is not nor can be an adequate description or definition of Lincoln in so far as he was an unique individual. The biographer and historian may recount his achievements, indicate his physical appearance, bearing, traits of character, secrets of success and whatever else you choose to regard as characteristic of him. The definition finished, the question immediately arises: Is it conceivable that the world should contain another man who embodied just that now-defined type—who looked, spoke, thought, felt, commanded and succeeded as Lincoln, the War President, did? If you answer no, how came you to have this secret of creation by which you affirm that every man's mould is shattered when the man is made? If your reply be yes, then you have not yet defined what makes Lincoln different from all other possible men. For not one of these possible creations would be Lincoln, himself, entitled to his honors and merits, sharing his individual fame and worthy, so to speak, of taking his place on Judgment Day.

Though in our present life we cannot know what constitutes an individual, we still apprehend exceeding well that such exist on every side. How happens it that we come to this knowledge? Because for us, individual beings *adequately* express a purpose, that is, express it in such a way that no other being can take the place of this individual as an expression of this purpose. Because for us this is a teleological

world. Because for us individuals constitute a hierarchy of purpose; each is what it is by virtue of the office assigned to it in the great world-design; one distinct from the other, yet all bowing to the prime purpose of the Omniscient Mind, from which they emanate. Though this world may contain myriads of persons in every way perfectly similar to them, yet they are not our enemies, are not our friends, for there is but one whom we, in a special way mean to detest one only whom we so esteem.

We are then entirely justified in believing that true individuality is analogous to this hazy, misty picture given to us here, that it is the unique expression of the Divine Will. In what manner these particular designs are expressions of this will, I cannot even guess. For the solution I wait, till this mortal shall put on immortality. From such teaching to philosophic practicalism is but a step.

The next advocate of pragmatism in rising importance, Wm. James, now professing psychology at Harvard, has, remarks Professor Baldwin, pushed this method to such extremes as must tend to give us pause. In a volume entitled "Will to Believe and Other Essays," he informs us that we are thorough-going empiricists, experience is all in all to us, *a priori* principles, nothing; we can never agree with the determinist in saying that we have absolute certitude within our grasp, yet in opposition to the skeptic, we must profess we are able to know the truth, and undoubtedly do know it in the majority of cases; but we can never with our fallible intellects know with certainty when we are in the right. Are we then, on that account, to believe nothing to be true since our intellects cannot be deceived? Not at all; when two living hypotheses or alternatives (by living he means such as possess enough relative interest to cause us to act), when two such dichotomous hypotheses are posited, we are bound to choose one or the other. To remain neutral would mean to act as though the negative were true, and all truth is interpreted in relation to the conduct it prompts.

We adopt that which our instinct, our volitional, passional nature tells us is good, that is, productive of the best effects. And even though no inner voice spoke to tell us which was

useful, we must still place our belief under one standard or the other. We must know the truth and avoid error; but on this moonlit and dream-visited planet, neither objective evidence nor certitude are found, in spite of the fact that they are very fine ideals. What then shall we do? The only way of making our opinions more or less true, is to go on experiencing and thinking over our experience: never should we hold any of our opinions, not even one, as though it were impossible that it should be reinterpretable or corrigible. From this we are inclined to infer, that, though ideas may be true for us now from the fact that they are useful, yet at a later period when, so to speak, they have outlived their usefulness, it is quite possible that they should lose their significance and cease to be real.

Dr. James' latest and most pretentious work, "The Varieties of Religious Experience," published at New York in August of 1902, criticises religion and the science of religion in the light of the pragmatic torch. He finds much therein which he stigmatizes "useless knowledge." To quote in a general way from the chapter on philosophy some of its characteristic sentiments: man's thinking, he says, is organically connected with his conduct, and should never be considered apart from it. In philosophy every difference should *make* a difference; every theoretical difference must somewhere issue in a practical difference, and so the best method of discussing points of theory is to begin by establishing what practical difference would result from one alternative or the other being true. What is the particular truth in question *known as?* In what facts does it result? What is its *cash value* in terms of particular experience? This is the characteristic pragmatic way of taking up the question. In answering those who sneeringly question the sanity of such teaching, he introduces as an authority Mr. Charles Peirce. In his retort he applies the "method" to religion and proceeds to liken the professors of dogmatic theology to "those logical machines of wood and brass which recent ingenuity has contrived." "What, after all," he asks, "do the metaphysical attributes of God add to us? What definite connections have they with our life? How can a knowledge (if such can be called knowledge) of God's

necessity, His immateriality and simplicity aid us one whit in planning our behavior or in performing better any specific act?'' It is the moral attributes of God that positively determine fear and hope and expectation, and are foundations for the saintly life. God's holiness, omnipotence, omniscience, love, immutability and the rest, these alone should find a place in the study of religion, for in these alone is found that necessary constituent of all true knowledge—*practicability*. Such were the sentiments of Hume, Stewart, Brown, the two Mills, Bain, and all the members of the latter-day British schools and such sentiments are the only ones fitted to make philosophy a study worthy of serious men; for what seriousness can possibly remain in debating philosophic propositions that will never make any appreciable difference to us in action?

It is a matter difficult and well-nigh impossible for one not accustomed to thinking in the same strain as Mr. James, to gather from his writings and addresses anything like a systematized exposition of his theory of philosophy. A reviewer has called him the romancer who writes psychology. This assertion is corroborated by Mr. Dickinson Miller, who says that James has scattered his systematic philosophic suggestions in such a way through his psychology, his essays and lectures and rendered them so ambiguous by the style and the desire to please, that in trying to unify them many have concluded that the author contradicts himself. Such being the case we will depend for a synthesis of Professor James' pragmatism on two critics of his own convictions, Miller and Caldwell.

In general we may say that it is distinguished by giving to the principles of Mr. Peirce, stated in the beginning of this paper, a more liberal meaning and a wider application. (1) In philosophical discussions to be mindful that for us conduct is the sole significance of a thought, tends wonderfully to smooth out misunderstandings and bring in peace. (2) He tells us that experimental psychology has proven that all cognitive activity is at the same time volitional activity, and that consequently *our intellectual systems,* our *sets of ideas,* just like religious beliefs and cults and social customs, must be regarded as competitive action-tendencies, whose validity and

truth may be demonstrated by their power to survive in the life of the race. (3) Biology has gone farther in proving that the end and purpose of all thinking, brain development, etc., is action and evolution. (4) The logic of science may be said to afford a certain confirmation of the basis of pragmatism; the truth at which scientific thought arrives is not that which we can ideally contemplate without error, but on which we may act without fear. The opinion which is fated to be ultimately agreed to by all who investigate it is what we mean by the truth.

Professor Seth Pringle-Pattison of Edinburgh states the first principle in this wise: "The ultima ratio of every creed, the ultima ratio of truth itself is that it works; and no greater condemnation can be passed on a doctrine or system than that if it were true, human life as it has been lived by the best of the race would cease to be reasonable."

Mr. Caldwell, of Northwestern University, agrees with James in all that he has said, but would advise him not to be content with stopping here; besides in many cases James' statements lack apparent foundation and are consequently open to criticism, while inwardly sound. He is confident that this could be remedied by making in the beginning some very important assumptions and that complete satisfaction would follow if we were only to supply the theory of reality with which the *method* of pragmatism must be associated, in order to become a part of true philosophy. Caldwell would fill in and complete by saying, that "the practical utility of things (substances, organisms, species, institutions, ideas) their subserviency to the universal process of evolution, is the sole reason of their continuing to be what they are." In plain words he substitutes what may be called teleology and the doctrine of functional utility for what has been termed ontology; the notion of essence as constituting the truth of being is replaced by the capability this being possesses of performing a fixed amount of work and of meeting certain needs in the intellectual and physical life of man.

The teleological doctrines of Lotze, Royce and the rest and their connection with pragmatism in its most radical form become now more apparent.

An article appearing in the *Philosophical Review* of September, 1903, takes a critical survey of the pragmatic method. In it, the author, Dr. Irving King, discovers many inconsistencies which are in part due to the peculiar character of the system and partly to the undeveloped condition in which it is at present necessarily found. He, moreover, indicates and lucidly explains Pragmatism's strong point, namely that it *does* assert a connection between thought and action, and its greatest drawback, that it does not give an adequate account of what this relationship *is*. He, too, appears to be of the opinion that, given time in which to evolve the finer points and correct the accidental errors of sequence, this movement will eventually prove a great force in the future of speculative thought.

Professor Dewey, of Chicago, follows closely the lines of Green's idealism while modifying it in the pragmatic direction. Besides him and Rutgers Marshall there remains one more pragmatist who, though not an American, deserves mention. Mallock's late production, "Religion as a Credible Doctrine," pushes practicalism to the extreme of saying that though propositions be directly contradictory they need only to serve some practical purpose in order that they may become worthy of belief. This contradicts what Mr. Peirce said regarding the dilemma as an argument for the reasonableness of his method; but, of course, in Mr. Mallock's own words this is not putting either at a disadvantage; both may be right. This is the last and boldest step pragmatism has taken and one that puts an extinguisher on all further speculation. The principle of contradiction has passed away and all their talk is talk.

We will now briefly review this fragmentary and perhaps disconnected collection of theories and make a general statement of the meaning and object of pragmatism. It requires that the first and supreme aim of philosophy should be to make human life a success; speculation is of secondary consideration and should always remain subject to practical utility. Metaphysics is no longer the speculative and free science, and knowledge for knowledge's sake is folly. Even Kant, the founder of nineteenth century philosophy, must withdraw his opposition between the theoretical and practical reason; the former is now

derived from the latter, to which it always remains secondary, subservient and useful. Neither the truth nor the falsity of a conception can be decided without experience of its manner of working. It gets its meaning only from its use; you can use it only if you desire to use it; you must therefore desire or postulate it if you are to have it at all. If on the other hand you know, at the suggestion of practical experience, that something would be useful if it were true, you will reasonably give it a trial, and if you find you can work with it, you believe it is true, and that in proportion to its usefulness. If you find that you possess what is commonly called knowledge but which has never been of any service to you, rest assured, it is a lie. What Aristotle called necessary truth forms no exception to these rules. No truths are necessary unless by the word necessary we understand *needful;* they are all at bottom, postulates, demands we make upon our experience in order that this may be a cosmos fit to live in.

As we have mentioned before so now we repeat, that this is the philosophy of America, the philosophy of business and of success, the philosophy on whose first and last page is written the one only query *"cui bono?"* It marks an advance inasmuch as it is constructive, not merely critical; but prospects for the future it has none. It has signed its own death warrant. Speculation, theory, all that has hitherto constituted the life of philosophy, has been discarded, not replaced. The standard of truth which it has adopted is the concept of value; activity-experience, effective-meaning, definite-differences are the supreme judges which are to test the truth of entire reality and the possible of realization. All of these are essentially dependent upon action which has no logic capable of a systematic development. The nucleus destroyed, development suspended, stagnation and death are inevitable.

Apart from its relative value considered as a contribution to history, the system has of course an intrinsic worth which the reviewer cannot in justice ignore. Aristotle and the schoolmen both held in an indefinite sort of way the positive opinions of the pragmatist. Not only did they admit the principle of finality, but they insisted on its being regarded as one of the four real causes of all contingent being. And in science they

always esteemed this same final cause a useful and ever-flowing source of particular knowledge. Here however the roads of the scholastic and the pragmatist divide and the two part company. The latter has no desire to push on higher; he thinks he has found here the cup that will never fail to quench the soul's thirst for truth. For the former the final cause, being merely extrinsic, cannot constitute or even assist in composing the essence of being; and though it is a source of true knowledge, it is to be considered as merely supplementary to the knowledge of the essence, which comes to us from the substance or the resultant of the intrinsic causes. All concede that finality is in itself a boon to philosophy but only when in its place, and it is not its place to attempt to explain everything.

Despite these facts which represent pragmatism in its worst aspect, there is to be found in the system a great deal that is good. It has brought philosophy in touch with real life and has thereby purified religion of numberless conceits and much hollowness and superficiality. It has elevated the moral beliefs of those who, though professing Christianity, subscribe to no particular religion. It has, as it were, translated a part of philosophy into the language of the people and led it out of the class-hall to bring sunshine to the lives of the many.

There is patent in every chapter of the books herein alluded to, an indication that the religious beliefs of the times are withdrawing farther and farther from the contagion of mechanism and are donning the garb of a higher spirituality. Nearly all these prominent teachers of philosophy in the universities of our own land, who lend their approbation and coöperation to pragmatism, are men who not only recognize but demand as a necessity, God, freedom and immortality. Their honest effort is in the direction of restoring the teleological principle to the honorable place which it held in philosophy before materialistic evolution put it aside as useless sentimentality. Those times are becoming more and more a part of ancient history, and associate themselves in our minds with the childish age of Leucippus and Epicurus. True, in active life commercialism is daily becoming a darker evil, but in the speculative world—if we read aright the signs of the times—we shall see that the day of Darwin, Huxley and Spencer is past. A new

dawn is purpling o'er the horizon, in whose morning we shall walk and talk with a new generation of thinking men, whose hearts and minds are with us regarding the cardinal truths of Christian philosophy, though their method of arriving at them and of defending them is manifestly unsound.

W. R. A. MARRON.

ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY,
ST. PAUL SEMINARY, ST. PAUL, MINN.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Peirce. In *Popular Science Monthly*, January, 1878.
James. "Will to Believe and Other Essays." New York, 1896.
"The Varieties of Religious Experience." New York, August, 1902.
"Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results." Pamphlet.
Royce. "The World and the Individual." 2 vols. New York, 1901.
"The Conception of Immortality." Boston, 1900.
Caldwell. "Pragmatism." *Mind*, October, 1900.
King. "Pragmatism as a Philosophic Method." *Phil. Review*, September, 1903.
Van Becelaere. "La Philosophie en Amérique depuis les origines jusqu' à nos jours." *Revue Thomiste*, 1902–03.
Turner. "History of Philosophy," page 649.
Baldwin. "Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology." Art. Pragmatism.

RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS. II.

We cannot appreciate the Indians' belief in the supernatural without observing the widespread conviction among the savage people that the superior beings were intimately connected with man in this life and could be of great assistance to him in securing happiness in the next. To quote all the references made by the missionaries to the widespread belief of the savages in a future life, is outside our present purpose. Such quotations as will give us the clearest knowledge of the Indian's concept of the nature and immortality of the soul must suffice.

Father Le Jeune, speaking of the Montagnais, gives us the following summary of their belief, which is substantially the same among all the tribes of New France.[1] All these Indians persuade themselves that not only men and animals, but all other objects are endowed with immortal souls. They imagine the souls are shadows of the animate objects; never having heard of anything purely spiritual, they represent the soul of man as a dark and sombre image, or as a shadow of the man himself, attributing to it feet, hands, a mouth, a head, and all the other parts of the human body. Hence, this is the reason that they say the souls drink and eat, and therefore, they give them food.

". . . Now having declared to me this first article of their faith, I proposed to them several questions. First, where do these souls go after the death of man and other creatures. 'They go,' they say, 'very far away to a village situated where the sun sets.' 'All your country' I say to them, meaning America, 'is an immense island, as you seem to know; how is it that the souls of men, of animals, of hatchets, of knives, of kettles—in short, the souls of all things that die or that are used, can cross the water to go to this great village, that you place where the sun sets? Do they find ships which take them over the water?' 'No, they go on foot,' they answer me, 'fording the water in some places.' 'And how,' I ask, 'can they ford the

[1] Relation 1634, vol. 6, pp. 177–181.

great ocean, which you know is so deep, for it is this great sea which surrounds your country?' 'Thou art mistaken' they answer, 'either the lands are united in some places, or there is some passage which is fordable, and over which our souls pass. Indeed, we know that no one has yet been able to pass beyond the North Coast.' 'It is because' (I answer them) 'of the great cold in those seas, so that if your souls take this route, they will be frozen and all stiff from cold, before they reach their villages.' "

When asked what the souls eat on their journey, the Indian replies that their diet is bark and old wood found in the forests. When they arrive at the Village of Souls, their occupations are much the same as in life. "During the day-time, they are seated with their elbows on their knees, and their heads between their hands, the usual position of sick savages. During the night, they go and come, they work, they go to the chase." "Oh, but they cannot see at all during the night," I rejoined. "Thou art an ignoramus, thou hast no sense," they answered, "souls are not like us; they do not see at all during the day, and see very clearly at night. . . . "

The souls of beavers, porcupines, moose and other animals, were sought by the souls of the Indians. In the words of Father Le Jeune's informant, they use "the souls of snow-shoes to walk upon the soul of snow; . . . in short, they make use of the souls of all things, as we here use the things themselves."

The Iroquois and Huron Indians believed that man had two souls, one of a vegetative character, which gave bodily life and remained with the corpse after death until it was called to enter another body; the other of more ethereal texture, which in life could depart from the body in sleep or trance, to wander over the world, and at death went directly to the land of spirits. Father Brébeuf testifies to this belief among the Hurons.[2] He tells us that the Indians were persuaded that both of the souls were rational. "One separates itself from the body at death, yet remains in the cemetery until the Feast of the Dead, after which it enters into a turtle-dove, or according to the most common belief, it goes away at once to the "Village of Souls." The other is, as it were, bound to the body, and informs, so to

[2] Relation 1634, vol. 10, p. 141.

speak, the corpse. "The latter remains in the ditch of the dead after the feast, and never leaves it unless some woman bears it again as a child."[3] Evidence of the same belief among the Iroquois, is given by Father Jean de Quen.[4]

From the words of Father Brébeuf, it is unquestionable that the Huron Indians believed in metempsychosis. He had unparalleled opportunities to study this tribe, and he could hardly be mistaken. It has been doubted whether such a belief was ever accepted by any tribe,[5] but the testimony of the missionaries cannot be gainsaid. Father Jouvency tells us that the Indians of Canada used to bury "the bodies of infants beside paths, in order that their souls, which they think do not depart very far from the body, may slip into the bosoms of women passing by" and thus enter the world in a new body.[6] This is but a confirmation of Father Brébeuf's[7] and Father Du Perron's testimony concerning the Hurons.[8]

That souls were thought to enter into animals was also believed by the Indians. We have seen that the Hurons thought the turtle-dove could become the soul's habitation, and the belief prevalent, according to Father Le Jeune, among the Montagnais that the soul may sometimes be "changed into fish,"[9] is sufficient proof that this persuasion not only existed, but was common to more than one tribe of New France.

The final destination of souls was generally thought as we have already seen, to be a village, located somewhere in the West.[10] Le Jeune tells us this was the belief of the Algonkin and Montagnais Indians.[11] According to Father Brébeuf, the Hurons believed that all went "to a great village, which is toward the setting sun,—except, however, the old people and the little children, who have not as strong limbs as the others to make this voyage. These latter remained in the (Huron) country, where they have their own particular villages. Some assert that, at times, they hear the noise of the doors of their

[3] Ibid., p. 287.
[4] Relation 1655–1656, vol. 42, p. 50.
[5] Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 294.
[6] Relation 1610–13, vol. 1, p. 263.
[7] Relation 1636, vol. 10, p. 273.
[8] Relation 1638–39, vol. 15, p. 183.
[9] Relation 1637, vol. 12, p. 29.
[10] Relation 1610–13, vol. 1, p. 289.
[11] Relation 1637, vol. 12, p. 27.

cabins and the voices of the children chasing the birds in the fields. . . . The souls which are stronger and more robust, have their gathering places towards the West where each nation has its own village; and if the soul of an Algonkin were bold enough to present itself at the village of the Bear Nation's souls, it would not be well received. The souls of those who died in war form a band by themselves.''[12]

One Indian told Father Brébeuf, that the souls in journeying to this village took a road that was ''broad and well beaten,'' and that they had been seen as they passed near a certain rock, ''which has often been found marked with paint, which they used to smear their faces.''[13] Another Indian said that on the same road lives a mythical person named Oscotarach or ''Piercehead'' ''who draws brains out of the heads of the dead, and keeps them.''[14]

Before arriving at the village, the same Indian said, that the souls are supposed to overcome a difficulty, and on their success or failure depends their future state. ''You must pass a river and the only bridge you have is the trunk of a tree laid across and very slightly supported. The passage is guarded by a dog, which jumps at many souls and makes them fall. They are at the same time carried away by the violence of the current, and stifled in the waters. ''But,'' said I (Brébeuf) to him, ''whence have you learned all this news of the other world?'' ''It is,'' he told me, ''persons brought back to life who have reported it.''

This test to which the souls were put before entering the village, seems to imply a belief in the minds of the Indian that a discrimination was made among the souls of the dead. What qualities were requisite that a soul might pass this ordeal successfully, we are not told. Father Brébeuf tells us in the same Relation that, ''the souls of those who died in war formed a band by themselves. The others fear them and do not permit their entry into their village any more than they allow the souls of those who have killed themselves to enter.''[15] But we are not told whether suicides and those who die in war, are the

[12] Relation 1636, vol. 10, pp. 143–146.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., p. 147.
[15] Relation 1636, vol. 10, p. 145.

unsuccessful souls in the trial above mentioned. Their exclusion from the village seems, however, to imply the existence of a moral sanction in as much as self-destruction and death in war are thought to be deserving of punishment.

Because they had not as high a moral sense as civilized peoples, and hence did not exclude from the Village of Souls thieves who, Father Brébeuf says, "were quite welcome,"[16] and souls guilty of other crimes, we should not deny the existence among them of all moral sanction. At best, we can but say that their standard is not ours; what appears abominable to us was not so to them. Because he did not make this necessary distinction, Father Brébeuf said they honored equally the interment of the wicked and good, and both went to the same place after death.[17]

Not all missionaries thought the Indians were without a belief in a future sanction. Father Biard, one of the first to come to New France, writes: "They (mentioning no particular tribe) have an inherent and general idea of the immortality of the soul, and future reward and punishment; but farther than this they do not seek, nor care for the cause of these things, occupied and engrossed always either in the material things of life, or in their own ways and customs."[2] Father Bressani[18] explicitly says that the Huron Indians believed in two separate abodes towards the sunset, one a place of happiness, the other a place of wretchedness. He does not add what the qualifications were for entrance into either, but the distinction made implies reward and punishment.

Among the Natchez Indians, there seems to be no doubt of the existence of a distinct belief in this future sanction. The following is the testimony of Father Le Petit:[19]

"They believe in the immortality of the soul, and when they leave this world they go, they say, to live in another, there to be recompensed or punished. The rewards, to which they look forward, consist principally in feasting, and their chastisement is the privation of every pleasure. Thus, they think that those who have been faithful observers of the laws, will be conducted into a region of pleasure,

[16] Relation 1636, vol. 10, p. 145.
[17] Relation 1611–1616, vol. 3, p. 135.
[18] Relation 1653, vol. 39, p. 13.
[19] Relation 1720–36, vol. 68, pp. 129–131.

where all kinds of exquisite viands will be furnished them in abundance, that their delightful and tranquil days will flow on in the midst of festivals, dances, and women; in short, they will revel in all imaginary pleasures. On the contrary, the violators of the law will be cast upon lands unfruitful, and entirely covered with water, where they will not have any corn, but will be exposed entirely naked to the sharp bites of the mosquitoes, that all nations will make war upon them, that they will never eat meat, and have no nourishment but the flesh of crocodiles, spoiled fish and shell-fish."

The general idea of future happiness as conceived by the Indians of New France was substantially the same as that of the Natchez described by Father Le Petit. It was but a continuation of material pleasures enjoyed in the land of the living.[20]

With this lively faith in the continued existence of souls after separation from the bodies, the Indians, like all other nations and peoples, had the greatest respect for the souls of the deceased. Since these souls were thought, as we have seen, to retain their fleshly desires and appetites, devotion and love suggested means whereby these cravings might be satisfied. "Therefore," says Father Le Jeune, speaking of the Montagnais,[21] "they give them food; when one dies, they throw the best food they have into the fire, and they have often told me, that the next morning they find meat which has been gnawed during the night by the souls."

So strong was this respect for the dead among the Hurons that, in the words of Brébeuf,[22] "all their exertions, their labors, and their trading, concern almost entirely the amassing of something with which to honor the dead. They have nothing sufficiently precious for this purpose; they lavish robes, axes, and porcelain, in such quantities that, to see them on such occasions, you would judge that they place no value upon them; and yet, these are the whole riches of the country." In the same place, the missionary graphically describes for us the "Feast of the Dead." This is so important a religious ceremony among these Indians, and is so characteristic of the savages in general, that it can not be omitted.[23]

[20] Cf. Le Jeune, Relation 1639, vol. 16, p. 191, and Bressani, Relation 1653, vol. 39, p. 13.
[21] Relation 1634, vol. 6, p. 177.
[22] Relation 1636, vol. 10, p. 265.
[23] Ibid., pp. 269–271.

"Usually they inter the dead on the third day. As soon as it is light, the captain gives orders that throughout the whole village a feast be made for the dead. No one spares what he has of the best. They do this, in my opinion, for three reasons: first, to console one another, for they exchange dishes, and hardly anyone eats any of the feast he has prepared; secondly, on account of those of other villages, who often come in great numbers; thirdly and principally, to serve the soul of the deceased, which they believe takes pleasure in the feast, and in eating its share.

"All kettles being emptied or, at least, distributed, the captain publishes throughout the village, that the body is about to be borne to the cemetery. The whole village assembles in the cabin; the weeping is renewed, and those who have charge of the ceremonies get ready a litter, on which the corpse is placed on a mat, and enveloped in a beaver robe, and then four lift and carry it away. The whole village follows in silence to the cemetery.

"A tomb is there made of bark and supported on four stakes eight to ten feet high. However, before the corpse is put into it, and before they arrange the bark, the captain makes known the presents that have been given by the friends. . . .

"Now, all the presents do not follow the dead man into the grave; sometimes, a poreclain collar is put around his neck, and nearby a comb, a gourd full of oil, and two or three little loaves of bread; and that is all. A large share goes to the relatives to dry their tears; the other share goes to those who have directed the funeral ceremonies as a reward for their trouble. . . . The funeral ceremonies over, the mourning does not cease, the wife continues it the whole year for the husband and the husband for the wife; but the great mourning properly lasts only ten days. During this time they remain lying on mats and enveloped in furs, their faces against the ground. . . . They do not warm themselves even in winter, they eat cold food, they do not go to the feasts, they go out only at night for their necessities. . . . This is what there is of their great mourning. The lesser mourning lasts all the year. . . . What I find remarkable is that during that whole year, neither the husband nor the wife remarries; if they did they would be talked about throughout the country."

Besides the feasts and ceremonies at the time of burial, Father Brébeuf says that they had at certain periods grand feasts, in which the dead of all the tribe are given special honor. These feasts occur about every twelve years.[24]

[24] Relation 1636, vol. 10, pp. 281–299.

"In each village, they choose a fair day, and proceed to the cemetery, where those called *Ahieonde,* who take care of the graves, draw the bodies from the tombs in the presence of the relatives, who renew their tears and feel afresh the grief they had on the day of the funeral. . . . When the friends have gazed on the bodies to their satisfaction, they cover them with handsome beaver robes quite new.

"Finally, after some time, they strip them of their flesh, taking off skin and flesh, which they throw into the fire, along with the robes and mats in which the bodies are wrapped. As regards the bodies of those recently dead, they leave these in the state in which they are, and content themselves by simply covering them with new robes." They carry the bones, which they call the souls of the dead, to a great pit. "All around (this pit) was a scaffold, a sort of staging very well made; . . . above this staging, there was a number of poles laid across and well arranged with cross poles, to which these packages of souls were hung and bound."

Some carried the bodies recently buried and these were placed whole under the scaffolding. "They put in the very middle of the pit, three large kettles, which could only be of use for souls; one had a hole through it, another had no handle, and the third was of scarcely more value. . . . All the people passed the night on the spot. They lighted many fires, and slung their kettles." The next day all the "souls" were thrown promiscuously into the pit; and when it was filled, the robes were spread over them. "Then they heaped the pit with sand, poles, and wooden stakes, which they threw in without order. Some women brought to it some dishes of corn; and that day, and the following days, several cabins of the village provided nets quite full of it, which were thrown upon the pit."

The cries and confusion attending this ceremony were such as to present "nothing else than a picture of hell" to Father Brébeuf. He says:

"The large space was quite full of fires and flames, and the air resounded in all directions with the confused voices of these barbarians. The noise ceased, however, for some time, and they began to sing,—but in voices so sorrowful and lugubrious that it represented to us the horrible sadness and the abyss of despair, into which these unhappy souls are forever plunged."

This great respect for the memory of their dead is common to all our tribes. It seems to be, from the testimony of ex-

plorers, a custom that is universal among peoples, existing in some degree even among the least civilized; and therefore some scholars have thought they found in it the origin of religion.

From sacrificing to the dead, Mr. Herbert Spencer[25] thinks it was but a step to the worship of their relics or representations. This is what he calls ancestor worship, out of which arose idolatry and fetichism. He accounts for animal worship by saying, that it is but a development from the belief that the soul of the ancestor was supposed frequently to take up its abode in an animal.

This paper does not propose to deal with the origin of the religion among our tribes. It is historical, and hence must concern itself entirely with the facts or conclusions, licitly deduced and based upon facts. We do not know historically the primitive form of their religion and hence any attempt to describe its origin must be merely speculative. "The question as to the form (primitive) is historical, but there is no history can solve it. But the question as to the source is philosophical, and so admits of discussion."[26] However, within the scope of this paper may come the consideration of theories of origin which, claiming to be built on fact, are really without such a foundation.[27]

The ghost theory of Mr. Spencer is alluded to as an example here, not because it is by any means generally accepted to-day but, because in the main, with some modifications, other writers have adopted it, and because it is a good illustration of an all too common tendency to seek and find, as Max Müller has said, "among your useful savages anything you wish."

We have seen that our Indians had the greatest reverence for the souls of the dead. Hence, they left food at the grave to help them on their journey, and as is evident from some of their human sacrifices, given in the preceding chapter, a companion was deemed necessary to accompany the shade of the departed. But in all this devotion for the dead, only prejudice could evolve a divine worship.

---

[25] "Sociology," Chapter XXI.

[26] "The Philosophy of the Christian Religion," by Andrew Martin Fairbairn (London, 1902), p. 209. See also "Elements of The Science of Religion," by C. P. Tiele, vol. I, p. 71. (London, 1897.)

[27] Cf. "The Origin of Religion," by Dr. Charles F. Aiken, in the BULLETIN for April, 1899, pp. 184–189.

Surely, if the Jesuits thought that such a practice existed, —and who had better opportunities to know of it than they?— they would have reported what to them would certainly seem an abominable superstition. And yet, instead of giving us evidence of this "ancestor worship," their Relations bear witness to the Indian's belief in a distinction between men and their god in this life, and in the next. We find no evidence in these documents that a dead Chief or any member of a tribe, was ever raised in popular belief to the dignity of a god.

Mr. Spencer says that, the "other self" or soul of an ancestor was supposed to take up its abode in an animal, and from this he argues that animal worship was nothing but ancestor worship. In the preceding chapter, the words of the Jesuits have been adduced to show that a widespread "animal worship" existed among our tribes; and proof that the souls of the deceased often became reincarnate in a particular animal has also been given. We have seen that the totem of an individual or tribe was most frequently an animal, but in no case can it be said that these animals were thought to be ancestors and worshipped as such.

The examples given in the preceding chapter show that the manitou or deity residing in the animal was worshipped, and this manitou was the special genius who watched over and cared for the animal itself or the particular species to which it belonged. Being the manitou then, instead of being human or the soul of an ancestor, it was from the very meaning of the word something above and beyond nature. The souls that were reborn in animals were never called manitous or okis and hence were never considered to be objects of the worship given only to the manitou or oki. The worship of the great objects of nature is likewise said by Mr. Spencer to be merely ancestor worship. He thinks men came to confound these objects with their ancestors "partly by literal interpretation of birth names and partly by literal interpretation of names given in eulogy . . . by implicitly believing the statements of forefathers, the savage and the semi-civilized have been compelled grotesquely to combine natural powers with human attributes and histories, and have thus been led into the strange custom of propitiating

these great terrestrial and celestial objects, by such offerings of goods as they habitually made to other ancestors.''[28]

This assertion of Mr. Spencer is not borne out by the facts known about the religion of our Indians. Here we have a definite nature worship, but in no case are the objects worshipped for themselves alone, but rather for the god dwelling in them, and in no case is this god confounded with a man who once lived on earth, and after death became a god. It is not our intention to pass in review all the objects of nature held sacred by our tribes. We will confine ourselves to that form which is most important. Sun-worship will show that here Mr. Spencer's theory does not apply. It was natural that the sun should play an important part in savage mythology, for being children of nature, they could not but be impressed with the magnitude and grandeur of the sun and of its beneficent power in the universe. Here we enter the field of the myth and fable, for the sun being considered a definite personality by all the Indians, became especially the object of their myth-making tendencies. The myth is the crystallization of the savages' belief. With its metaphor and imagery it was best suited to express the divine yearnings of these people whose senses revelled in the natural beauties around them, and whose language partook of the flowery eloquence inspired by their surroundings. But myths must be studied with the greatest care.

To be of any importance in the study of the Indian religion they must be, first of all, after their authenticity and genuineness are assured, not merely the isolated expressions of one or more individuals, but the crystallized embodiment of the belief of a clan or tribe. We should remember that some myths imparted by the savages to missionaries and other explorers, are, as is well known, but subterfuges employed by the Indians to avoid revealing what they held most sacred.

Again, myths must be regarded as far as possible from the view-point of the savage. No little study and care are required to divest the narratives of explorers of expressions which give us an idea of their own belief but not that of the Indian whom we wish to study.

Chief among the mythological personalities among the In-

[28] "Sociology," p. 193.

dians of New France, was that dwelling in the sun. In most cases, as among the Indo-European and Semitic races of the Old World, the sun was a beneficent god associated with fidelity and happiness. Speaking of the savages in general, Father Biard tells us that they could call their god by no other name "except that of the sun *Niscaminou.*"[29]

Sun-worship was more prominent among the Natchez Indians than among the other tribes. Father Le Petit writes as follows concerning these Indians:[30]

"The sun is the principal object of veneration to these people. As they cannot conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for the same reason that the great chief of the nation, who knows nothing on earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together, they raise a mound of artificial soil, on which they build his cabin, which is of the same construction as the temple. The door fronts the east, and every morning the great chief honors, by his presence, the rising of his elder brother, and salutes him with many howlings, as soon as he appears above the horizon. Then he gives orders that they shall light his calumet; he makes him an offering of the first three puffs, which he draws. Afterwards raising his hand above his head and turning from the east to the west, he shows him the direction which he must take in his course."

In this example we have the nearest approach to anything like ancestor-worship among our tribes. But on examining we find that such a worship cannot be concluded from this assumption of relationship. That this Natchez chief believed that he and the sun were brothers, born of the same mother, and that the members of the tribe were equally credulous, is altogether unlikely. It is more probable that the chief, imbued with a sense of his own importance, and anxious to impress the people with his power, thought that the surest way to win their respect was by claiming by this relationship an equality with that which, to the savage mind, was the greatest object in nature. Even if he did not arrive at this conclusion personally, but had received it as a tradition from his ancestors, this seems to me

[29] Relation 1616, vol. 3, p. 133.
[30] Relation 1720, vol. 68, p. 127.

the more probable explanation of the origin of the custom. In any case, it is hard to believe that the sun in any but a figurative sense could be considered the brother of the chief.

Among the Algonkin, Huron, and Iroquois Indians, the sun was considered the most important, if not the chief deity. The following testimony of Father Le Moyne exemplifies the Iroquois belief:[31]

"One of the Iroquois captains exhibited in his turn some very rich presents in answer to various articles of peace proposed by the Father.[32] The first and finest of these presents was a large image of the sun, made of six thousand porcelain heads,—the purpose being, he said, to dispel all darkness from our councils, and let the sun illumine them even in the darkest gloom of night."

The Hurons, according to Father Ragueneau, "very frequently called upon the sun to be witness of their courage, or of their innocence. But above all, in the treaties of peace and alliance with foreign nations, they invoke as witnesses of their sincerity the sun and sky which sees into the depths of their hearts, and will wreak vengeance on the treachery of those who betray their trust, and do not keep their word."[33] Here the sun is made the upholder of the moral order as they conceived it, and the sanction appears in the punishment imposed by the sun on the violation by treachery of that order. Sun-worship was equally prevalent among the Algonkin Indians.

All this worship was not offered to the mere material object, but rather to a distinct personality supposed to reside in the sun. That this personality among the Hurons, Iroquois, and Algonkin Indians was not a deified ancestor appears in the myths in which this origin, nature and attributes are set forth.

The consideration of the chief myths pertaining to this deity may now occupy our attention. It will give us an idea of the principal deity of the Indians and will conclude our study of their religion.

---

[31] Relation 1655–56, vol. 42, p. 39. For the Illinois Indians, cf. Father Dablon, Relation 1670–72, vol, 5, p. 215, and Father Marquette, 1669–70, vol. 54, p. 187.

[32] These presents were gifts, which, according to Indian custom, were exchanged by both parties to all important negotiations.

[33] Relation 1648–49, vol. 33, p. 225.

According to Father Brébeuf the Hurons believed that the god residing in the sun was Iouskeha.[34] This god, though born on earth, was the son of a goddess. Father Brébeuf narrates two myths concerning his birth. Both are the same in substance, so we will content ourselves with the following one, which is the more complete of the two.[35]

"They recognize as the head of their nation a certain woman whom they call Aataentsic who fell among them, they say, from Heaven. . . . They do not agree as to the manner in which this fortunate descent occurred. Some say that one day as she was working in her field, she perceived a bear; her dog began to pursue it, and she followed. The bear seeing himself closely pressed, and seeking only to escape the teeth of the dog, fell by accident into a hole, and the dog fell in after him.

"Aataentsic having approached this precipice and finding that neither the bear nor the dog were any longer to be seen, was so affected that she threw herself into the hole also. Nevertheless, her fall happened to be more favorable than she had supposed. She fell into the waters, thus escaping injury although she was with child,—after which, the waters having dried up little by little, the earth appeared and became habitable.

"Others attribute this fall to another cause, which seems to have some relation to the case of Adam, but falsehood makes up the greater part of it. They say that the husband of Aataensic being very sick, dreamed that it was necessary to cut down a certain tree from which those who abode in heaven obtained their food; and that as soon as he ate of the fruit, he would be immediately healed.

"Aataentsic, knowing the desire of her husband, takes his axe, and goes away with the resolution not to make two trips of it. She had no sooner dealt the first blow, than the tree at once split almost under her feet and fell to the earth; whereupon she was so astonished that, after carrying the news to her husband, she returned and threw herself after it. She falls very gently on an island built by the animals on the back of a turtle.

"Some time after, as she was with child when she fell, she was delivered of a daughter, who almost immediately became pregnant. If you ask them how, you puzzle them very much. . . . She brought forth two boys Tawiscaron and Iouskeha."

[34] Relation 1636, vol. 10, p. 135. See also Relation 1666–67, vol. 5, p. 261.
[35] Ibid., p. 127. The other account is given in Relation 1635, vol. 8, p. 117.

The latter, when they grew up, quarreled; Iouskeha using as his weapons the horns of a stag, while his brother "contented himself with some fruits of the wild rosebush," thinking that with these he would be victorious. "But it happened quite differently from what he had expected; and Iouskeha, on the contrary, struck him so rude a blow on the side, that the blood came forth abundantly. This poor wretch immediately fled, and from his blood with which the land was sprinkled, certain stones sprang up, like those we employ in France to fire a gun—which the savages call to-day Tawiscars from the name of this unfortunate. His brother pursued him and finished him."

That Iouskeha is heaven-born is pretty clearly expressed in this myth. His qualities are well defined in the Relations. Both he and his mother are thought to resemble human beings in many ways, but there is a marked distinction between them and men. Thus, Father Brébeuf says:[36]

"This god and goddess live like themselves (the Indians), but without famine; make feasts as they do, are lustful as they; in short, they imagine them exactly like themselves. And still, though they make them human, and corporeal, they seem, nevertheless, to attribute to them a certain immensity in all places."

Of the two Iouskeha is held in the highest esteem by the Hurons. He is called the Master of Life, the Ruler of the earth, and animals, and is usually considered the friend and benefactor of mankind while his mother is thought to be unfavorable. Father Brébeuf says:[37]

"This Iouskeha has care of the living and the things that concern life, and consequently they say that he is good. Aataentsic has care of souls, and because they believe that she makes men die, they say that she is wicked."

So important was this deity in the estimation of the Hurons, that even the fruits of the field were brought to maturity by him. "If they see their fields verdant in spring, if they reap good and abundant harvests, and if their cabins are

[36] Relation 1635, vol. 8, p. 119.
[37] Ibid., p. 117.
[38] Brébeuf, Relation 1636, vol. 10, p. 137.

crammed with ears of corn, they owe it to Iouskeha."[38] Hence, he is the reproductive, rejuvenating power in nature, and any doubt that he is the personification of the sun is dispelled by this belief of the Indians. They who observe the effects of the sun on their crops, could not be mistaken in ascribing these effects to the sun. Lalemant tells us, that he was thought to have brought forth the rivers, lakes, and seas;[39] and that he was master of the animals, and the cause of success in hunting.[40] There is no doubt, then, of the position which this deity held among the Hurons. Master of life, benefactor of men, he seems at times to emerge from the great mass of manitous, and enjoy the dignity of a supreme god among these people. But this supremacy was not such as to warrant the conclusion that he ever came to be worshipped to the exclusion of the other manitous. They were worshipped with him, and while they did not possess all of his qualities, he cannot be said to have transplanted them in popular regard.

The Hurons were accustomed to call Iouskeha by another name, *Agreskoui*.[41] Under this name he preserved the same characteristics and equal importance.[42] Among the Iroquois the same god was worshipped under both names, and the myths in which he figures are open to the same interpretation and ascribe to him the same power and gifts.

The Iroquois, however, have another name, *Tharonhyawakon*, which they apply to a mythical deity, who seems to be identical with Iouskeha. This identity is insisted upon by Mr. Brinton,[43] and seems to be borne out by the accounts of both given in the "Relations." All the attributes ascribed by the Hurons to Iouskeha are applied by the Iroquois to Tharonyawakon.

Father Bruyas calls him the great god of the Iroquois;[44] and according to Father Carheil[45] he was acknowledged and obeyed as the great master of their lives, and the chief of the spirits, who appear to men in sleep.

[39] Relation 1640, vol. 20, pp. 27 and 31.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Father Jean de Lamberville in Relation 1672–3, vol. 57, p. 97.
[42] Father Paul Ragueneau, Relation 1647–48, vol. 33, p. 225.
[43] "Myths of the New World," p. 204.
[44] Relation 1669–70, vol. 53, p. 253.
[45] Ibid., p. 65.

Among the Algonkins there was also a prominent deity, who closely resembled Iouskeha and may, with great probability, be called the counterpart of that god. Commonly known as Manabozzho, he also bore among others the following names, Manabush, Michabou, Minabosho, Missibizi, Nanibozhu, and Messou.

Father Allouez[46] says the Ottawas saw him in their dreams at times as a "fabulous animal." They thought he was a great spirit, and offered him sacrifice in order to obtain a good sturgeon fishing. He was also, according to Father Dablon,[47] the "god of the water," and according to Father Allouez the creator of the earth.[48] Father Le Jeune says the Montagnais did not consider him the creator, but rather the restorer of the earth after it had been destroyed by a flood; but that he was the benefactor, and friend of mankind, is attested by both missionaries. The Montagnais myth recorded by Father Allouez is the following:

It seems that Messou going one day to the chase with his lynxes, which he used instead of dogs, lost them in a great lake. "The Messou seeking them everywhere was told by a bird that it had seen them in the midst of this lake. He went to get them out, but the lake overflowed, covering the earth and swallowing up the world. The Massou, very much astonished, sent a raven in search of a little piece of ground, with which to rebuild this element (the earth), but he could not find any. He made an otter descend into the abyss of waters, but it could not bring back any. At last he sent a muskrat which brought back a little morsel, and the Messou used this to rebuild this earth, which we inhabit.

"He shot arrows into the trunks of trees, thus forming branches. He performed a thousand other wonders, avenged himself upon those who had detained his lynxes, and married a muskrat by whom he had children who have repeopled this world." That the Montagnais believed him to be the master and lord of the earth seems to be the natural conclusion from this myth. He was also the Master of Life among the Algon-

[46] Relation 1666–67, vol. 50. p. 289.
[47] Relation 1669–70, vol. 54, pp. 155–157.
[48] Relation 1669–70, vol. 53, p. 155.

kins, and had even gone so far at one time, according to Father Le Jeune,[49] as to bestow upon men the gift of immortality, which was lost in a curious way.

It seems "that a certain savage received from Messou the gift of immortality in a little package, with a strict injunction not to open it. While he kept it closed, he was immortal, but his wife being curious and incredulous, wished to see what was inside this present; she opened it, the gift flew away, and since then the savages have been subject to death."

Like Iouskeha, Manabozho was also considered the master or ruler of all animals. Father Le Jeune gives us this information:[50] "They also say, that all animals of every species have an elder brother who is, as it were, the source and origin of all individuals, and this elder brother is wonderfully great and powerful. . . . Now these elders of all the animals are the juniors of Messou." Without going farther into the characteristics of this Algonkin deity, we have enough to establish a pretty clear case of identity between him and Agreskoui. It is true, that we have no explicit statement in the "Relations" that he is the sun as we have in the case of Iouskeha, but the similarity of function and power is so striking as to permit scarcely any other conclusion.

In any case, the characteristics of these three important gods are such as to exclude the belief in the minds of the Indians that they were deceased ancestors. Nowhere do we find the belief recorded by the Jesuits that they come from human parents, though the Indian mind ascribed to them many human qualities. A study of all the other gods of our tribes would lead to a like result, but since their gods were as numerous almost as were the Indians themselves and were essentially the same, our examination of these more prominent deities is sufficient to give us a knowledge of the concept of the deity existing among the Algonkin, Huron and Iroquois people.

With this we bring to a close our study, all too brief and imperfect, of Indian religion. As was said in the beginning, the intention was not to make a complete synthesis, but rather by touching upon the more important phases, to give in outline

[49] Relation 1634, vol. 6, p. 159.
[50] Ibid.

a sketch of Indian belief in the supernatural. We have seen that there was a widespread belief in the superior being among our tribes. These beings were called manitous and okis, some of which were considered at times, but not always, hostile to men, while others were usually good, kind benefactors of men. When one of these appeared to an invalid in sleep, he assumed some definite animate or inanimate form, and the latter then became the totem of the individual.

The clan and sex had likewise peculiar totems, but how the latter were acquired we have been unable to discover, and are thus—as are all who attempt to account for this phenomenon—committed to conjecture.

That there was a widespread animal worship among these tribes is clearly expressed in the "Relations." With it we find what appears at first sight to be a worship of inanimate objects, but our conclusion that not the animal or inanimate object was worshipped for itself, but rather the manitou or symbolized or dwelling in them, seems to be the most natural. Sacrifices of tobacco, food, animals and even of men were the chief means chosen by the Indians to placate and propitiate the manitous. But unlike the higher religions, we find no organized priesthood general among the tribes, and this too, despite the fact that religion in its origin has been accredited to the priestly class. We do not seek to account for this break, but leave the fact for what it is worth to those who have declared that all religion has originated in the arts and trickery of the priest.

The immortality of the soul is undoubtedly one of the strong convictions of our Indians. With it went veneration for the dead, who were assisted after death by the same gifts which they enjoyed during life. But this veneration was never a worship in the strict sense. No ancestor-worship in any sense can be said to have existed among our tribes. Their chief gods were certainly not deceased ancestors, but were born of parents who came from another and higher world.

WILLIAM B. MARTIN.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. Works Directly and Indirectly Pertaining to the Jesuits in New France.

Bacon, Leonard Woolsey. "A History of American Christianity." New York, 1877.

De Charlevoix, S. J., Rev. P. F. X. "History and General Description of New France," translated with notes by John Gilmary Shea. 6 vols. New York, 1866.

"Letters to the Duchess of Lesdiguières giving an account of a Voyage to Canada." London, 1763.

Colby, Charles W. "The Jesuit Relations." *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1901.

Harisse, Henry. "Notes sur la Nouvelle France 1545–700." Paris, 1872.

Kip, W. Ingraham. "Early Jesuit Missions." Albany, N. Y., 1866.

O'Callaghan, E. B. Paper read before the New York Historical Society, on the Jesuit Relations, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1847.

Parkman, Francis. "The Jesuits in North America." Boston, 1867.

"Pioneers of France in the New World."

De Rochemonteix, Camille. "Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII Siècle."

Shea, John Gilmary. "A History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States." New York, 1855.

"Jesuit Estates in Canada." *American Catholic Quart. Rev.*, Vol 22.

"Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley." New York, 1852; Albany, 1902.

Winsor, Justin. In his "Narrative and Critical History of America," the chapter entitled The Jesuit Relations and Other Mission Records. A Chronological Bibliography.

II. Books Pertaining to the Religious Myths, Rites and Customs of the Indians who Came Under the Influence of the Jesuits.

Blakeslee, Allen D. "The Religious customs of the Ojibway Indians." Hayward (Wis.) Journal, new-print, 1890.

Brinton, Daniel G. "The Myths of the New World" (third edition). Boston, 1896.

Catlin, George. "Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians" (fifth edition). London, 1845.

Dawson, J. W. "Fossil Men and Their Modern Representatives." Montreal, 1880.

Dellenbaugh, Frederick S. "The North American Indians of Yesterday." New York, 1901.

Dorman, Rushton M. "The Origin of Primitive Superstitions." Philadelphia, 1881.

Dorsey, J. Owen. "A Study of Siouan Cults." U. S. Bureau Ethnol. Report, 1889–90.

Drake, Samuel G. Biography and History of the Indian of North America." Boston, 1834.

Ellis, George Edward. "The Red Man and the White in North America." Boston, 1882.

Emerson, Ellen R. "Indian Myths or Lengends." Boston, 1884.

Fiske, John. "The Discovery of America." 2 vols. Boston and New York, 1892.

Frazer, J. C. "The Golden Bough." London and New York, 1900.

Heckenwelder, Rev. John. "An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States.'

Jarvis, Samuel Farmar. "A Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America." N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1819, Vol. III.

Lighthall, W. D. "Hochelagans and Mohawks." Royal Soc. of Canada, 1899. *Proceedings and Transactions*, Second Series, Vol. V.

Lubbock, Sir John. "The Origin of Civilization." London, 1881.

Morgan, Lewis H. "Ancient Society." London, 1877.

Powell, J. W. "Sketch of the Mythology of the North American Indians." U. S. Bureau Ethnol. Rep. 1879–80, pp. 17–69.

Rand, Silas F. "The Legends of the Micmacs." New York and London, 1894.

Rigg, Stephen R. "The Theogony of the Sioux, American Antiquities." Vol. 2, pp. 265–270.

Sagard, F. G. "Le Grand Voyage du pays des Huron." Paris, 1865.

Schoolcraft, Henry R. "Algic Researches." 2 vols. New York, 1839.

"Tour of the American Lakes." Albany, 1821.

"Notes on the Iroquois." New York, 1846.

Smith, Erminie. "Myths of the Iroquois." U. S. Bureau Ethnol. Report, 1880–81, pp. 51 and sqq.

Squier, E. G. "Historical and Mythological Tradition of the Algonkins." *Amer. Whig Review*, February, 1849.

Tylor, Edward B. "Primitive Culture." 2 vols. New York, 1899.

Wilson, Daniel. "The Lost Atlantis, and Other Essays." Edinburgh, 1892.

BOOK REVIEWS.

L'Enfance Coupable. Par Henri Joly, de l'Institut. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. 8°, pp. 222.

Les Enfants Mal Elevés, étude psychologique, anecdotique et pratique. Par Fernand Nicolay, avocat à la Cour de Paris, 23d edition. Perrin, 1904. 8°, pp. 530.

M. Joly is favorably known as the author of more than one work on social psychology. His "Psychologie des Saints" received a flattering welcome; at the other end of the social scale his "Corruption de nos Institutions" is one of the most suggestive books of the year. He is president of the "Société d'Economie Sociale" and of the "Société Générale des Prisons," which is equivalent to saying that no one is better equipped to speak of the actual conditions of youthful morality in France. His observations are personal, made at first hand in the workshop, in the correctional institutions, the prisons, and wherever French youth is found in numbers along the border line of manhood. The chapters of the book deal successively with the actual conditions of wayward youth in France, bad example, relapses, first steps in crime, the hardening of criminal habits, suicide, different kinds of crimes, possible uplifting of the fallen youth. The author of "La France Criminelle" has written a book at once actual and suggestive, learned and moving, a book that every educator, Catholic or Protestant, should read and ponder. The conclusion of it all is written on p. 33: "The moralists of every age, with the exception of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, agree that the child cannot grow up without constant surveillance; that, however well nature may equip all youth with the rude elements of the moral man, the actual structure of morality is built up and maintained by education."

Quite in the same spirit M. Fernand Nicolay, whose admirable "Histoire des Croyances" we lately noticed (BULLETIN, October, 1903, pp. 522–525), has written a sociological study on badly educated children. He treats of faulty methods of domestic education, of proper and improper uses of authority and correction, of the child-features as index of character, and gives us some bold portraits of wrongly-educated children. Next he deals with certain fundamentals —the influence of "gaieté" or "sunshininess," the child-idea of happiness, education in the cradle, the chief defects of children. Anecdotes of "enfants terribles" illustrate his own observations and the experience of all educators. Love, paternal and filial, back-biting, the legal responsibility of parents and children, heredity, precocity,

hypnotism, a brief comparison of some educational systems, and the peculiar fact that children in turn educate their parents, give abundant subject-matter for the concluding chapters of a book that yields to none of its kind in interest and usefulness. Teachers of every degree can read it with equal pleasure and profit. The mere fact that it has reached a twenty-third edition is proof that it has long since taken place among the "little classics" of modern pedagogy.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Jean Bertaut, abbé d'Aulnay, premier aumonier de la reine, évêque de Séez (1552–1611). Par l'abbé Georges Grente. Paris: Lecoffre, 1903. 8°, pp. xv+438.

How few of those who know fairly well the history of French literature have more than heard the name of Jean Bertaut! And yet he is the hyphen that binds the age of Ronsard to that of Malherbe. He was not of the immortal race of word-sculptors who fashioned the French tongue into shapes of classical perfection, but he was at least one of those vigorous artists who rough-hewed the original block and half-freed from its prison the captive masterpiece. Bertaut was a Normand, of Caen, and rose, first by the favor of the de Matignon family and later by that of Henri III, to a position at the court which was confirmed to him by Henri IV. In 1606 the latter made him bishop of Séez in his native Normandy, a modest see, not over-agreeable to many of the young abbés who courted the king's favor.

> Beati qui habitant urbes
> Exceptis Luçon, Séez, et Maillezais

was the ecclesiastical rating of this small see. But Bertaut took his nomination seriously, resided in his see, and contributed by his sermons to raise the dignity of the art of preaching and to defend the Catholic faith against the agents of French Calvinism. These were the cruel days of the Ligue, of the assassination of the Guises, Henri III and Henri IV.

Bertaut was a courtier and a poet, the friend and protégé of powerful aristocratic ladies, a singer of sweet and tender verses modelled on the taste and form of the reigning Petrarchism. He was for a time the favorite writer of madrigals, "ballets," sonnets and other slight and frivolous *concetti* that had been growing popular in France since the beginning of the sixteenth century, an age in which that land lay completely under the artistic spell of Italy. The Abbé Grente has shown that all this worldly literature was produced before Bertaut was made a bishop, and even before he was ordained

priest. Bertaut wrote a lengthy poem of an epic character on St. Louis, an historico-romantic poem entitled "Trimandre," a poem on the baptism of the Dauphin entitled "Pannarrette," and several panegyrics in verse on notable persons of his time. These writings are marked by grace and elegance of expression. They are also disfigured by excessive use of antithesis, mythology, abstractions, and allegory. The prevailing bad taste of his time shows itself in a lack of sobriety, measure and lofty inspiration. His "chansons" were long popular in France, and until the Revolution held a place of honor in the popular collections of poetry. Bertaut's genius was markedly lyrical. Byron and Lamartine descend from him and more than once Alfred de Musset recalls this ancient singer of the woes and sorrows of the soul. His imagination is a Christian one, and is therefore easily tinged with melancholy; he falls easily into a moralizing strain. All his mature poems take on a delicate coloring. There is in Bertaut at once something of Lovelace and of Young. He was preëminently a man of letters and a "gentleman of France" in the Valois régime. The society of Paris adored him, and for once forgot to slander—the best evidence of a virtue and moral superiority that his contemporaries took pleasure in recognizing. He was no mean orator at a time when St. Francis de Sales, du Vair, Cospeau, Coeffeteau and other esteemed orators flourished. He translated into French the three books of St. Ambrose "On Virgins" and the second book of the Eneid. In translation he is not an Amyot, but he renders his authors with spirit and grace.

M. l'Abbé Grente has made a very charming book concerning this meritorious ecclesiastic. He has put him back in his own "milieu," rearranged the surrounding, political, social and literary, drawn copiously from the works of Bertaut, made clear the influences which affected his mental growth, and set forth dispassionately the good and the evil, as the documents show them. The bishop of Séez must henceforth be studied in this book that is a notable contribution to the history of French literature. The author gives proof in every chapter that he possesses high literary gifts and virtues—good taste, delicacy of sentiment, penetration and moderation. Without meaning it, perhaps, he has illustrated very vividly some of the conditions that brought about the ruin of the Church in France.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Quelques Motifs D'Espérer. Par l'Abbé Félix Klein, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris: Lecoffre, 1903. 8°, pp. x+297.

We owe to the facile pen of the abbé Félix Klein another volume of his interesting discourses and essays. They are chiefly of a politico-social character and tendency, although here and there are interspersed several papers of a literary and artistic nature. The Abbé Klein introduces us to the Catholic Association of French Youth, to its meetings, organs, plans and hopes. The essay on the Gospel in our modern society and that on the renovation of ecclesiastical studies are of immediate importance. Père Gratry, the Youth of Taine, the Catholic Renaissance in England, and the Relations of Anglicans and Roman Catholics, show us the best side of the mind and the heart of the Abbé Klein. In the essays on Ruskin and "La Religion de la Beauté" and on Catholic Art the doctrine is very timely and will please all those who think the time has come for an improvement in our ecclesiastical architecture. Two essays on the art of writing and teaching will be read with profit by all instructors of youth. The Abbé Klein criticizes the social thesis of M. Paul Bourget in his famous novel "L'Etape." Two concluding essays entitled "Sicut Agnos" and "Fils de Lumière et de Progrés" present the program of conciliation, patience, and personal earnestness in the development of the gospel-spirit, that characterize M. Klein and the noble band of young priests and young laymen who have learned from him, and from professors like him, never to despair of the mighty nation of France.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Journal de Mme. de Cazenove d'Arlens (Février-Avril, 1803), publié pour la Société d'histoire contemporaine. Par A. De Cazenove. Paris: Picard, 1903. 8°, pp. xxxvi+169.

Correspondence de Le Coz, évêque constitutionnel d'Ille-et-Vilaine et archévêque de Besançon, publiée pour la Société d'histoire contemporaine. Par le P. Roussel, de l'Oratoire. Paris: Picard, 1903. Tome II, 8°, pp. xv+520.

1. The Journal of a Swiss Protestant lady, Mme. de Cazenove d'Arlens, kept during the winter of 1803 at Paris, furnishes an interesting portrait of life and manners in that gay capital during the First Consulate. A number of the principal historical personages of the time are brought before us, sketched "sur le vif,"—Mme. de Staël, Talleyrand, Lafayette, and other less known but socially active people of the time. The point of view of Mme. de Cazenove is quite

English and Genevese; nevertheless, she can rise above her inherited prejudices and pay tribute to the good that she sees about her. Very interesting are the pages that she devotes to the good Abbé Sicard, the inventor of a successful method for the instruction of the deaf and dumb. She tells us that Bonaparte was already looked upon as a most despotic sovereign; that he was equally detested and feared while he was served in the basest possible manner. "Quelle nation?" she says "Il fallait cette main de fer pour vous conduire, Messieurs les Francais!" We learn from her pages that while Talleyrand was in America he was interested in the speculations of the famous Holland Land Company, principally through a relative of the writer. The town of Cazenovia, in the state of New York, vouches for the historicity of this incident.

2. We have already noticed in the BULLETIN (January, 1902) the first volume of the Correspondance of Le Coz, formerly Constitutional bishop in Brittany, and afterward one of the bishops presented to the Pope by Napoleon on the occasion of the signing of the Concordat. The second volume is now before us. It contains some two hundred and thirty-three letters from 1802 to April, 1815, the time of his death. These letters were frequently directed to the public authorities such as the Pope and the Emperor, Cardinal Caprara, Portalis and Lanjuinais, to the mayors and to the parish priests of his diocese, to provincial prefects and bishops. Very instructive are several letters that remain of the correspondence of Le Coz with Grégoire, the famous constitutional bishop. There is also a very curious letter to the savant Anquetil-Duperron. Considerable light is thrown by this correspondence on the practical workings of the Concordat in a great French diocese in the years that immediately followed its proclamation. It is also very clear that up to his death Le Coz remained a very stubborn Gallican in his principles, although the language of his letters to the Pope is quite correct. This volume is calculated to interest profoundly all who care for the history of France during the era of reconciliation with the Papacy and Catholicism that followed the signing of the Concordat. Even in the hands of such men as Le Coz and Portalis, and in the first flush of Napoleon's satisfaction with his work, the Concordat was difficult of execution in a multitude of details, and could only be made the basis of religious peace and harmony by the personal good-will and mutual coöperation of the ministers of religion and the officers of the government.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Elements of International Law, with an account of its origin, sources, and historical development. By George B. Davis. A new and revised edition. New York: Harpers, 1903. 8°, pp. 612.

We have in this volume a text-book for students, principally the undergraduate students of American colleges and law-schools. Illustrative cases are abundantly cited, and the student is constantly referred to the exhaustive Digest of the International Law of Dr. Francis Wharton as well as to the Cases in International Law prepared by Professor Freeman Snow, of Harvard University. The standard works in English of Phillimore, Hall, Woolsey and Lawrence, those of Calvo and Pradier-Fodéré in French, and Holtzendoff in German, are also recommended for purposes of comparison and reference. After a chapter on the definition and history of the International Law, follows a description of states and their essential attributes (sovereignty, government, territory), an account of perfect and imperfect rights, comity and ceremonial, of national character (citizenship, naturalization, expatriation, domicile), of extradition, and of private international law. Other chapters deal with the right of legation (ambassadors, public ministers, consuls, consular jurisdiction), treaties and conventions (their execution, ratification and interpretation), the conflict of international rights (adjustment of disputes, mediation, arbitration, retorsion, reprisals, pacific blockade), war (declaration, effects, rules of war, maritime war), maritime capture (prizes, jurisdiction, and procedure of prize-courts). Neutrality, contraband of war, blockade, and the right of search form the subject-matter of the concluding chapters. By way of appendix are added the Instructions of Professor Francis Lieber for the government of the Armies of the United States in the Field, the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Sick and Wounded of Armies in the Field, the Declaration of Paris, the Declaration of St. Petersburg, the resolutions of the International Peace Conference at The Hague, and the Laws of War on Land. On pp. 13–16 Mr. Davis treats of the papacy as one of the main sources of International Law in the Middle Ages; most of what he says is correct. We cannot admit, however, that its authority was more frequently abused for ambition than exercised for justice (p. 14). The Protestant writer Ancillon (Tableau des Revolutions, I, pp. 79, 106) says that "during the Middle Ages, when there was no social order, the Papacy, alone perhaps, saved Europe from total barbarism. . . . It was a supreme tribunal erected in the midst of anarchy." We feel sure that if Mr. Davis read the noble work of James Balmés on European Civilization, or the "Ages of Faith" of Kenelm Digby,

or even fully perused all the pieces of some one of the great mediaeval arbitrations, he would think and write differently. The favorable opinion of Boehmer, the editor of the Regesta of the mediæval emperors, is well known. Mr. Davis cites Lawrence (p. 15): "In an age of force he (the pope) introduced into the settlement of international disputes principles of humanity and justice, and had the Roman Curia always acted upon the principles it invariably professed, its existence as a great court of international appeal would have been an unmixed benefit." Because individual agents of the papacy may at times have been selfish and unjust, it would be eminently unfair to blame the papacy itself for such conduct; it must at all times rely upon men to execute its will. The marvel is that so seldom has it been badly served, given the temptations and the passions roused by the larger political difficulties. We regret to notice the omission in the "literature" (p. xxiv) of the work of Perrin, L'Ordre International, Paris, 1888. Otherwise, this is a very useful and even timely book, not only to students of law, but to all who would understand the manifold relations of our government with the other governments of the world.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Inner Life of the Soul. By S. L. Emery. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. 269.

A strong practical work of Catholic devotion is always a welcome addition to our Catholic literature. It offers new food for the soul. It is a new voice protesting effectively against the unfair charge that Catholicism is but another name for formalism. Of the books proceeding from Catholic authors the vast majority are intellectual rather than spiritual. We need, of course, books of merit that appeal to the mind, but we also need well-written books that appeal to the heart.

To this latter class, it is a pleasure to note, belongs the modest volume entitled the "Inner Life of the Soul." It is a work of which we Catholics in America may be proud; for in American Catholic literature we have but few devotional works that combine common-sense piety with literary excellence. The author of this book writes with a distinctively literary flavor and shows a ready command of pure limpid diction that flows on in charming freshness like a crystal stream through a grassy meadow. Nor is genuine poetic talent lacking. To this literary style is added an enthusiasm for the life of loving union with God that bursts upward like a flame, yet at the same time is tempered with discretion that is truly Catholic. How

dear to the author's heart is the subject which gave form to the book is revealed in the beautiful dedicatory stanza.

> "As a bright flame, and like unto the wind,
> Come from the heights of heaven, O God the Holy Ghost!
> Touch Thou my tongue with fire, guide Thou my feeble pen,
> Make my heart strong, then when I need Thee most,
> Help me to write of Thee, teach me to speak of Thee,
> Let me lead souls to Thee, O God the Holy Ghost!"

The flowering of Catholic faith in the loving communion of the soul with God, the sweetness, the strength, the consolation that it engenders, all this the author seeks to set forth in a series of short meditations inspired by the succeeding Sundays and festivals of the ecclesiastical year. In the opening meditation, bearing the same title as the book, a lofty flight is taken which is maintained unbroken to the end. There is freshness, vigor, variety, enthusiasm on every page. The author, a convert of long standing, has known how to enhance the worth of the volume by bringing forth treasures old and new. Choice thoughts, culled with loving care and fine discrimination from St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. Francis de Sales, St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross, Fenelon, Bossuet, are mingled with judicious citations from the writings of Fr. Faber, Bishop Gay, Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Newman and many others. Above all, the genial hopeful piety of Fr. Faber and of St. Francis de Sales pervades the work like a delicious perfume. There is no trace here of conventional cant, of thoughts flippantly thrown off, no trace even of fanciful exaggeration so common to books of devotion, but everywhere solid common-sense piety, the fruit of serious mature deliberation. It is easy to discern in the sober spirituality of the work the utterance of a soul tried in spiritual conflict, tempered in the fire of life's crosses and afflictions, and withal coming forth with Catholic faith, hope and love, renewed and welded into greater firmness. Of pessimism there is not a trace. How gently satirical the author can be, the following passage shows.

> "We are living in a time of peculiar publicity. A man's house is no longer his castle. An army of reporters invades and the sayings and doings of the family life are dragged forth to the eye of day and paraded in the newspapers. So far has the evil gone that people seem to have a sort of hungry craving to behold themselves in print; and long lists of names and descriptions of dresses appear after a wedding or a party like the names of the rescued on a burnt steamship or of the heroes returning wounded from the seat of war. A continual feast is spread for vanity and self-conceit, while envy lurks in the shadow, and carping criticism whispers at the door. (P. 191.)

Of the wonderful family union pervading the fecundity of the Catholic Church we read:

"Therefore she binds all nations into one. Happy, indeed, are the eyes that see the things which we see! Look at the family life in the Catholic Church everywhere, not the family as divided into separate households, but the one, united, world-wide family of the household of the faith, bound by its marvellous strong tie everywhere to the centre of its unity. God's chosen representatives of His own divine paternity, Christ's own vicar and vicegerent, the Holy Spirit's mouthpiece, the Pope at Rome. Amor Roma: beautiful and holy anagram! Rome rhymes with home, and all roads lead there. Jew and Gentile, bond and free, black and white, rich and poor, flock to the bosom of the Catholic Church and call her mother; new converts meet her sons and daughters, and declare that they find themselves each among his own people in his Father's house. Over and again, as on the first Pentecost, men enter into the true fold, and stand there in rapturous amazement, saying: How hear we every man our own tongue wherein we were born! For every tongue beneath the sky belongs to her; and each of us hears, in her musical accents, his mother's voice." (Pp. 195–196.)

Of Catholic devotion to the blessed Mother of God, the author finely says:

"How can we explain to a Protestant that we love our Mother! How can we explain this spiritual love to the material world! She that bore Jesus Christ on her bosom and cradeled Him in her arms; she that fed Him, and kissed Him, and felt His baby kisses on her lips—where is she now? what does she? Ask the doubter this. She that stood beside the cross and beheld the risen Jesus, and watched Him go up to heaven, and saw the cloud receive Him from her sight,—where is she now? what does she? Has she no love and no prayers for us, for whom her Jesus died? And if you could do for your mother what Jesus can do for His Mother, *what would you do*, O doubter, O questioner, O caviller, O unbeliever in the love of God and man for Mary, the true Mother of the God-man, Jesus Christ?" (P. 129.)

Here is one of the anecdotes with which the work is embellished:

"It is told of St. Peter Favre that he was once asked by a certain nobleman to give him some short method or rule for his spiritual life; and although St. Peter Favre seems to have had an extraordinary flow of thought and language, his attempt was made in these few words; none others were needed.

"'I would suggest to you nothing more than this,' he said, 'to repeat frequently in your heart:—

'Christ poor and I rich;
'Christ fasting and I full;
'Christ naked and I clad;
'Christ suffering, and I living in enjoyment.'

Having said this, he was silent." (P. 62.)

The work abounds in excellent passages like these. Particularly fine are the meditations, "The Mystery of Pain," "The Wedding Feast," "Our Lady of Joy," "Peace in Pain," "Bide Thou Thy Time," "Dark Days," "Jerusalem," "Vision of Peace," "The Sympathy of the Saints," "A Royal Giver," "Never Alone," "Noblesse Oblige."

A noteworthy feature of the work is its adaptability to profitable

use by souls in different walks of life. The priest may find in its pages interesting subjects for short meditation. The nun in the cloister may draw from it inspiration and renewed fervor. It will come most welcome to the pious laity who are more eager than is often thought for sober works of devotion. No better work could be put in the hands of non-Catholics who may feel themselves drawn to the Church, and who would fain learn something of its inner life and spirit.

In every way worthy of its contents is the make-up of the book—its fine quality of paper, beautiful type, and tasteful binding. Nothing in short is lacking to make it an attractive, readable and highly useful volume. CHARLES F. AIKEN.

The Administration of Dependencies. A Study of the Evolution of the Federal Empire, with special reference to American Colonial Problems. By Alpheus H. Snow. New York: Putnam, 1902. 8°, pp. 619.

With a hope of diminishing the chances of war Sir George Cornewall Lewis wrote more than sixty years ago an essay "On the Government of Dependencies." In that scholarly work the author examines the nature as well as the form of a sovereign government and the extent of its authority over the persons directly subject to it. He likewise discusses international morality and the relations of a dominant and a dependent community. His essay also defines and describes dependencies; tells how they may be acquired, and considers as well the advantages and disadvantages to the dependent as to the dominant country. Since the publication of that work a considerable body of literature has appeared upon this branch of political science, not the least notable contribution to which is the treatise of Mr. Snow.

Though this author, as we learn from his preface, does not claim for his undertaking any motive so praiseworthy as a desire to lessen the frequency of war, yet the results of his researches are entitled to respectful consideration. In the following words Mr. Snow candidly states at the outset the precise object of his investigation: "Believing that the authors of the Constitution, in framing that instrument, almost simultaneously with the enactment, by the American Congress, of an ordinance for the administration of the Northwest Territory as a dependency of the American Union, must have intended the only clause on this subject to express the true principles of the administration of dependencies, as they believed them to be, I attempted to ascertain the correctness of this belief."

With an understanding of a familiar constitutional provision differing not a little from received opinions the author entered upon researches which to his mind confirm his original belief. About this species of inquiry there is something of the character of the time-honored method employed by those who endeavor to estimate the merits of party controversies by first taking sides, and then reading to support the theory which they have adopted. Even if a similar mode of investigation has brought Mr. Snow to just conclusions, it is but little in harmony with present methods of historical research. While an inquiry thus begun may not commend itself to either students or statesmen, both must appreciate the undoubted merits of this book, and admire the ability of the advocate, for it is in this character, as it seems to us, that the author is chiefly to be regarded.

"The Congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory and other property belonging to the United States." In this provision of our fundamental law Mr. Snow finds expressed the true principles of the administration of dependencies in a Federal empire. This term, as explained in one of his final chapters, comprehends the United States and their dependencies, and that empire is governed by the American Union as the imperial state, of which the powers are not unlimited but dispositive and somewhat judicial. To the legislative branch the author would give a superintendence and intrust the executive department of government with the actual administration of dependencies. Yet even in this arrangement he perceives serious objections. Among them are mentioned ignorance of conditions in the dependencies, and want of capacity in the President for collecting and digesting facts. The Executive, it is pointed out, could engage the services of expert investigators, who would be free to apply themselves continuously to their work. This, it is true, would approach a solution of the problem, but the supposition that a score, or even a half dozen desirable appointments would be placed beyond the reach of the spoilsmen is scarcely justified by the teaching of American history during the last two generations. Experts familiar with the language, the history, the institutions and the prejudices of distant and different races would be valuable assistants to a President who continued to esteem, even after election, the homely virtue of merit. But why might it not happen in the whirligig of time that an efficient and proved headsman would be invited to preside over the Civil Service Commission itself? Nor is it seriously to be expected that an officer will qualify himself for the duties of an office of which he may at any moment be relieved. He will become fairly familiar with the requirements, but

neither observation nor reflection will encourage him to attain to expert knowledge. The author's suggestion of a corps of highly trained officials implies among us the existence of a sort of British civil service, but, in the opinion of many, that point in our political development appears rather remote. These and kindred topics are not discussed in "The Administration of Dependencies." By Mr. Snow they are, no doubt, regarded as mere details which in the attempt to execute would solve themselves.

Perhaps the most valuable part of this book is comprehended in those chapters which discuss the issues between the colonies and the mother country. For an able and scholarly examination of the great questions of the era of the Revolution our history is greatly indebted to the researches of Mr. Snow. While the nature of that controversy is admirably set forth, it is by no means certain that the author's employment of an imperial nomenclature is an unmixed advantage. To patriots so well informed upon the great public questions of that day as was Samuel Adams a few of Mr. Snow's doctrines would, no doubt, have appeared somewhat novel, and nearly all, because of their new garb, a little changed from what they really were in 1775. The author's terminology, it is true, is explained in a separate chapter, yet the reader can scarcely avoid a feeling that in the translation from the language of Revolutionary times to that of modern political science the ideas have suffered something of a change. Then, too, the rigid etymological analysis of terms, so frequently employed and so much relied upon, must often result in giving to familiar statutes, charters and commissions a meaning scarcely within the contemplation of their authors. In a word, it is not considered professional to interpret a written instrument by particular phrases or even by its preamble. The general tenor furnishes the only reliable rule of construction.

The book is not, as its title would lead one to expect, a history of the practical work of administering dependencies, but rather a history of the theory of the relation between dominant and dependent countries. On that subject the volume is ample and satisfying. To the actual methods of colonial administration but little space is devoted, and, when we consider Mr. Snow's qualifications for preparing a work of that character, this is greatly to be regretted. Nevertheless, the observations and suggestions of the author in his chapter on *imperial obligations* are entitled at the hands of statesmen to the highest consideration. In many respects Mr. Snow's book will be found of great value to students of American history.

CHAS. H. MCCARTHY.

CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA.

Baptism and Christian Archæology. By Clement F. Rogers, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903. 8°, pp. iv+361.

The object of the author's enquiry is to examine the evidence from Christian Archæology as to the manner of administering the sacrament of Baptism during the early age of the Church.

When was the custom introduced of baptizing by affusion? Was this mode of administering baptism known in primitive times, and if so, was it merely tolerated and exceptional; and on the other hand is it certain that baptism by immersion was alone the form universally approved? These questions substantially summarize the scope of the author's enquiry. He submits to examination the various monuments bearing on his subject—catacomb paintings, early Christian sarcophagi, baptismal fonts, etc.—and much to his own surprise arrives at the conclusion that so far from baptism by affusion being exceptional "the mass of evidence from archæology . . . witnessed to it as the universal practice in early ages." He quotes with approval Duchesne's conviction that "the immersion whereof the ancient texts speak is nothing more than our affusion."

The author is familiar with the literature of his subject and conducts his enquiry judiciously. The evidence *pro* and *con* is weighed carefully and dispassionately. He is not always fortunate, however, in his selections of baptismal monuments from the catacombs. The fresco in St. Calixtus, Fig. 6, is a symbol of the saints in paradise receiving refreshment (refrigerium), and not of baptism. There is no doubt either that the fresco of the Passion crypt (Fig. 5) refers to the soldiers mocking our Lord; they wear the soldiers' chlamys. The person baptizing in Fig. 2 is not clothed in a "white toga," but in tunic and pallium—the dress of sacred personages in the catacombs. These minor errors do not, however, affect the argument, which is based on quite other considerations. The work can be recommended as a valuable contribution to liturgical literature.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Les Psaumes, Traduits de L'Hébreu. Par M. B. d'Eyragues. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. 8°, pp. lxiv+425.

This work is a direct translation of the Psalms from Hebrew into French. In the introduction a brief account is given of their origin, literary character and theology. The position taken by the author in his discussion of the titles may serve to indicate the general character of the work. For translations of the Psalms are in a special way influenced by the translator's opinion concerning their authen-

ticity and the environment in which they were written. They are poems composed at different intervals, by various individuals, as events of special interest to the author prompted. Hence, on the determination of the time, place and purpose of composition, depends, in a great measure their interpretation.

The value of the titles for such a purpose has been much debated; some have gone so far as to deny their worth entirely. M. d'Eyragues thinks that the Jewish tradition is so constant and explicit in support of the Davidic titles that "refuser toute créance à une somme de preuves si fortes serait livrer au scepticisme les points les plus solides et les plus lumineux de l'histoire d'Israel" (p. xxv). As for the rest of the Psalms, one should likewise accept the testimony of the titles. "On doit accepter aussi les noms des autres psalmistes conservés par les titres" (p. xxv). He places the period in which the Psalms were written between the times of David and the political and religious revival under Ezra and Nehemiah.

In treating of their literary character M. d'Eyragues indicates some of the difficulties which confront an effort to translate into an Indo-European language the vivid imagery and bold metaphors of Semitic poetry. In the Hebrew poem the troubles of the translator are increased by the lack of tense modifications in the verb, the paucity of connecting particles and the habit of expressing the abstract in terms of the concrete. Jerome revised the Psalter twice, and subsequently made a new translation of it. He revised the Psalter of the Vetus Itala about A. D. 383 and this revision is known as the Psalterium Romanum. It was based on the text of the Septuagint. Fear of offending against the prevalent esteem in which long and constant use had confirmed the Vetus Itala prevented him from making many corrections. In his second attempt at revising it, A. D. 387–391, he used also the other Greek versions. Because of the early popularity of this version in Gaul, it obtained the name Psalterium Gallicanum. The Invitatory of Matins and the portions of the Psalms found in the Missal are taken from the Psalterium Romanum, while the rest of the Psalms found in the Breviary as well as those in the Vulgate, are from the Psalterium Gallicanum. When he later made the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Latin he translated the Psalms also, but this translation of them has never found its way into the public service of the Church.

The defects of the Psalterium Gallicanum have, of course, long been recognized. It was not founded immediately on the Hebrew but on the Greek text. The Greek version itself was defective, so that faults crept into it from a twofold source. In explaining the

Vulgate, therefore, translations made directly from the Hebrew are of especial service to the clergy. A few examples from the present one will show their utility.

The two so-called tenses of the Hebrew language the perfect and the imperfect or aorist are used, according to the demands of the context, to express past, present or future time. The Septuagint Psalter usually translates the perfect as a past and the imperfect as a future tense. This mode of treatment passed over into the Vulgate. Thus the opening verse of Psalm CXXXVII begins "Confitebor tibi, Domine, in toto corde meo." M. d'Eyragues renders it "Je te loue de tout mon coeur." Psalm IV, "Cum invocarem exaudivit me Deus" is translated "Quand je t'appelle reponds-moi." Psalm XCII "Dominus regnavit decorem indutus est" is translated "Jahveh régne, Il se revêt de gloire." In Hebrew the indefinite subject is often not expressed and the verb is used in the third person of the singular number. The Vulgate has sometimes made the indirect object the subject of such a verb, thus Psalm LXXXVI, 5 "Numquid Sion dicet." Turning to the translation we find "et l'on dit de Sion." Clearness is likewise added to the text where the Vulgate has translated an adverb by a verb, or has attached the possessive pronoun to the noun in the genitive case although it really modifies the governing noun. An instance of the latter is found in Psalm IV, 2. Here we can scarcely see any good reason for not having introduced the translation of the note, "Mon Dieu juste" into the text instead of "Dieu de ma justice." Thus in many cases will the translation save recourse to long and sometimes intricate explanations of the commentaries.

The translator has preserved the Hebrew notation, but the place of each Psalm in the Vulgate is also indicated. An alphabetical index arranged according to the opening words of each Psalm in the Vulgate would be of service; likewise a topical index to the introduction would be welcomed by most readers.

Preceding every Psalm is a brief notice of the author, where it is possible, with an account of the circumstances suggesting its composition and an outline of its purpose and contents.

The evident familiarity of M. d'Eyragues with his subject and his deep insight into the language and thought with which he deals makes us regret that he has not seen fit to tell us how far he is willing to depend on the old version. But in view of the welcome to be accorded the work of a Catholic in this field we can well ignore defects in unimportant details. This work furnishes us with a fuller appreciation of the depth and breadth of thought and feeling contained within the

limits of the Psalter. It is also a proof of the growing tendency to give to the original texts their due meed of honor.

FRANCIS I. PURTELL.

Eusebius' Werke, Die Kirchengeschichte, bearbeitet im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, von Dr. Eduard Schwartz, Professor an der Universität Göttingen. Die Lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus bearbeitet im gleichen Auftrage von Dr. Theodor Mommsen, Professor an der Universität Berlin. Erste Hälfte. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8°, pp. 507.

The "Church History" of Eusebius has been so often edited, on the basis of numerous manuscripts and ancient translations, that a new edition can only hope to offer insignificant emendations. It does not follow that even the original text of Eusebius is perfect. His citations, as is well known, are very numerous, and often the text that he offers is incorrect—the result perhaps of the already corrupted copies that he was obliged to use, perhaps of his own insufficient collation with the originals, or the careless copying of his scribes. This is especially true of the citations from the "Archæology" and the "Jewish War" of Josephus. As these works were constantly being corrected from extant copies, it is now difficult to recognize the original form in which Eusebius set down his quotations. Emendations along this line are the chief improvement that Dr. Schwartz aims at in his edition of Eusebius' Church History for the Berlin edition of the early Greek Christian writers. The text of Eusebius is here confronted with the Latin translation or paraphrase of Rufinus—a valuable help for the students of Church history, all the more so as this edition of Rufinus is owing to no less a hand than that of Theodor Mommsen. The "prolegomena" to this edition of the Church History of Eusebius and his translator Rufinus are reserved for another volume, in which the last five books of the Church History will be printed, and their tradition, manuscript and literary, faithfully expounded.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Study of Ecclesiastical History. By W. E. Collins. New York: Longmans, 1903. 12°, pp. xv + 166.

This little book will prove a decided help to persons beginning the study of Church History. The author places before his readers, concisely and forcibly, the principles governing historical research now universally accepted. His preference (p. 74, sqq.) for special-

ization instead of general information deserves attention at a time when summaries of dry facts and drier inferences are so frequently placed before students of Church History as though great questions were closed when in reality they have never been even opened. Ecclesiastical history is, or at least used to be, taught a little too much after the manner of another science in which a syllogism is deemed sufficient to dispose of a whole philosophical system.

The author's tone throughout is admirable. His bibliography, though not professing to be exhaustive, is generally good. Many of the best of our Catholic Church historians are represented, though some important names are wanting, *e. g.*, Grisar's "Storia di Roma," Hergenröther's "Kirchengeschichte" and "Church and State," Gasquet's "Henry the Eighth and the English Monasteries," "Eve of the Reformation," etc. Surely, too, Villemain's "Life of Gregory the Seventh" is far less worthy of mention than those written by Gfrörer, Delarc and the Anglican Bowden. These omissions, however, do not affect the value of the work which ought to prove most useful to students of history. MAURICE M. HASSETT.

The Symbol of the Apostles. A vindication of the apostolic authorship of the Creed on the line of Catholic tradition, by the Very Rev. Alexander MacDonald, D.D. New York: Christian Press Association, 1903. 8°, pp. 377.

We recommend to all our readers the perusal of this work on the Apostles' Creed. It betrays an extensive acquaintance with the original texts that underlie all discussion concerning the literary history of this document—the date of its origin, the place and circumstances of composition or growth, the original language, and other interesting questions that have been widely mooted within the last generation. Dr. MacDonald has meditated profoundly on the Greek and Latin "testimonia" to the original and collective compilation by the apostles of the Apostles' Creed, possibly before the departure from Jerusalem, and in a phraseology substantially the same as that met with in the early part of the fifth century. The absence of clearer historical evidence than we possess he attributes to two facts—(*a*) the "Disciplina Arcani," or so-called Discipline of the Secret that forbade the communication of this norm of belief to any but the Christian faithful, and (*b*) the oral tradition of the same, by reason of which this "rule of faith" or "watchword" was doubly preserved as an heirloom of the baptized faithful. Dr. MacDonald concludes that for these two reasons the modern historical critic is estopped, at the very

outset of his investigations, from any knowledge of this formula other that which has come down to us through ecclesiastical tradition. He is acquainted with the writings of German and English scholars on the subject, and writes with a style of firm conviction that is often quite personal and challenging. It is a relief to come across a work like this, after the dreary waste of academic discussions that center about this well-worn confession of Christian faith.

The Apostles' Creed is, indeed, substantially genuine inasmuch as it reproduces faithfully and thoroughly the doctrine of the Apostles. And while the traditional teaching as to the apostolic origin of the actual text of its formulæ cannot be historically demonstrated, neither can it be refuted by any canons of sound criticism. We are in possession of a very ancient and venerable document. It is true that, as we now recite it, the Creed cannot be traced farther back than the middle of the fifth century in southern Gaul. But its primitive form differed somewhat from that now in use and was very much older. The origins of that primitive form are very naturally shrouded in obscurity, when we consider its admittedly extreme antiquity, the peculiarities of the earliest Christian life, the ordinary transmission of the Creed by word of mouth, and the jealousy with which it was treasured by the faithful as an original and sacrosanct summary of their belief.

The original commission of Jesus Christ to the Twelve (Matthew XXVIII, 19–20) implies a positive teaching of some kind that was to be known and accepted before the conferring of baptism. Nor can we be deterred from using this argument by the hypercriticism which would destroy the traditional Catholic view as to the date and integrity of the first gospel, particularly as to these verses (cf. Acts VIII, 16–17, 37; Mark XVI, 15–16). There was undoubtedly some baptismal creed from the very outset, *i. e.*, an Apostles' Creed of some kind. On the other hand, the formula as we possess it, particularly in the shape known as the "Old Roman Symbol" can be traced back by several paths to the latter half of the second century. Nor can it be proved that it was then and there compiled. Rather may we believe with Caspari that the archaic stiffness of diction which it then showed, its extreme simplicity and brevity, its distinctively lapidary style, leave with us the impression that these few phrases come down from the very remotest Christian times. There are objections, drawn chiefly from a certain silence of Christian antiquity. But how many other points of Catholic teaching and discipline will be affected if we admit too easily the conclusive character of such arguments! A single happy "find" often reduces them in cogency, or even destroys

their value. Apropos of the argument of silence we may all read with profit the chapter of Father De Smedt in his "Principes de la Critique Historique" concerning the proper use of the "argumentum ex silentio."

That the Roman Church had a baptismal symbol with a positive obligatory content seems clear from the words of Saint Justin (Apol. I, 61), *i. e.*, in the early part of the second century an adult convert from Palestine found the Roman Church in possession of a traditional "rule of faith." From that time on the evidences multiply to show that the Roman Church preserved intact such a formula, and communicated it to other churches, *e. g.*, Africa (Tertullian, De præscript. hæret, c. 36). Possibly one may understand Saint Irenaeus as teaching the Roman origin of the baptismal creed that this Oriental Greek found in Gaul after he had been some years a teacher of the Christian faith at Rome (Adv. hær. 1, 10, 1; III, 4, 1–2; IV, 33, 7). It contained "the faith that the Church dispersed through the entire world, even to the ends of the earth, had received from the Apostles and from their disciples." That was surely the "faith and the hope" included in the Trinitarian confession of St. Clement of Rome (Ep. ad. Cor. LVIII, 2) to which, again, the Roman-bred Saint Irenaeus refers, apropos of this very Letter to the Corinthians (Adv. hær, III, 3, 3). It is not unreasonable to believe, therefore, that at the end of the first century of the Christian era (A. D. 96) we find ourselves in the presence of a Roman formula with some positive content of Christian teaching. What we hear, indeed, is only fragmentary, but it is very suggestive, for as the decades of the second century go by nothing is met with to discredit the existence of such a formula; on the contrary, as light grows from dimness, so do the statements of Christian writers become steadily more explicit. Their unconscious references and admissions increase gradually the number of the known elements of this baptismal "rule of faith" until we reach the remarkably positive and conscious statement of Saint Jerome (ctr. Joan. Hier. n. 23): "In symbolo fidei et spei nostræ quod, ab apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento (cf. Iren. adv. hær. III, 4, 1) sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus, post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur."

We need not wonder that Caspari, and after him Kattenbusch, became convinced that Rome was the source whence even the Oriental churches drew their baptismal creeds. Modern scholars are more and more convinced of the far-reaching activity of the primitive Roman Church. Duchesne has pointed out in his "Origines Chréti-

ennes'' the significant fact that the Oriental churches sheltered all their earliest legislation under the name of Saint Clement of Rome, and that the earliest non-inspired Christian writings were composed at Rome, whence they obtained at once a quasi-canonical prestige. Eusebius (H. E. IV, 23, 10; VII, 5, 2) exhibits the Roman Church as a loving matronly figure presiding over the whole system of general Christian charities,[1] a fact that Saint Ignatius of Antioch long before him acknowledged. And the latest studies of the New Testament manuscript tradition point to Rome as the center of preparation and distribution of those copies of the New Testament that, not later than the early part of the third century, did service in the Orient as an ''editio typica'' from which all later manuscripts must calculate their filiation.[2]

The late Abbé Fouard broached the opinion that the Apostles' Creed was the work of Saints Peter and Paul. We prefer to believe with Dr. MacDonald that it was the outcome of general apostolic authorship. Saint Leo the Great was of this opinion, and he was a man to lay claim to a Petrine and Pauline authorship if that idea had been current at Rome about his time. En passant, does not Dr. MacDonald let off Saint Leo very easily from a belief in the legend of the individual apostolic contributions to the Creed? His words, taken as they are, do not easily bear any other interpretation. Given the extreme antiquity of the document, the growing veneration for the criterion of apostolicity, the apostolic number of its ''sententiæ'' and the acquired impetus of theological symbolism, it was not unnatural that so uncritical an age as the fifth century should originate and accept that belief, all the more so as suggestive examples were at hand in the current and widely-accepted specimens of pseudo-apostolic legislation. Then came the Irish monks of the sixth and seventh centuries and helped to lodge it, with some other things, in the Catholic consciousness of Gaul and Northern Italy.

The labors of Dr. MacDonald, while deserving of approval, and directed to the proof of a thesis that is substantially correct, naturally

[1] Cf. Harnack, "Mission und Ausbreitung des Christenthums" (1902), pp. 135–136.

[2] It is moreover worthy of remark that a series of the New Testament books, in their canonical and generally received form, point to a recension executed in the Roman Church. It has been demonstrated that since the third century the scriptural readings of the "Western," *i. e.*, the Roman, text of the New Testament were embodied in the text of the Oriental scriptural manuscripts. This is a matter of very great importance. The fact is most naturally explained by the supposition that those commentators received the New Testament from Rome, and used a Roman text in correcting the copies of the Scripture that they read in their Churches. Harnack, "Dogmengeschichte," I, 402. Cf. the prolegomena to Westcott and Hort, and Preuschen, Origenes' Johanneskommentar, Berlin, 1903, p. XCIV.

awaken some criticism. The form of the book is not calculated to bring out the really good arguments that one meets in it. It was published originally as a series of essays, hence there are numerous repetitions and overlappings. A certain personal note might well be eliminated from a discussion wherein warmth of conviction is surely desirable, but needs no emphasis, particularly on the elevated plane where the contestants move. The subject-matter is broken up too minutely, given its antique character. There is no suitable index that permits the reader to find at once every name and idea—the given index follows the table of contents and not, as it should, the pagination of the book. The printer has done his task too poorly for a work that deals with such an important subject. More serious defects are the references to the Acts of Pope Alexander (p. 26) and of Saint Cecilia (p. 124) as genuine and trustworthy. Modern criticism has shown that they were composed at a date very remote from the time to which they claim to belong. Dufourcq (Gesta Martyrum Romains, Paris, 1900, p. 123) locates the Acts of Alexander at the beginning of the sixth century, and those of Cecilia about a century earlier. Such material is of course useless. The letter of Pope Eutychian (p. 82) is a somewhat unfortunate argument—it is not a genuine letter but close kin to the two forged letters of that pope in the False Decretals. Dr. MacDonald ought not to wonder (p. 234) at the provenance of the citation from Saint Clement of Rome. The missing chapters of his Letter to the Corinthians were discovered by Bryennios at Constantinople and published there in 1875, and from that text were edited by Bishop Lightfoot in the first volume of his "Apostolic Fathers" (London, 1900). Since then Dom Morin discovered at Namur and published in 1894 a very ancient and complete Latin version, possibly of the third century.

Perhaps we ought to find fault with the excessive trust that Dr. MacDonald reposes in the antiquity of the Disciplina Arcani. That some such reservation of the Christian mysteries existed in the early part of the third century is clear enough, let us say from Tertullian. Even in Christian circles there had grown up the "fides silentii ex forma et lege omnium mysteriorum" (ad Nat. I, 7). But a century earlier, Saint Justin (I, 65–67) speaks quite openly before a heathen public of all the Christian mysteries, including the Eucharistic Celebration. Clearly, the Disciplina Arcani must have arisen as an institution after the time of Saint Justin. Persecution and apostasy, not imitation of the occultism of heathen mysteries, were the motives of its introduction. If, however, by the Discipline of the Secret be understood only a certain indefinite shyness of the faithful

in presence of scoffers and blasphemers, it may, indeed, be as old as Christianity itself. At the same time it is not improbable that, apart from any obligatory secrecy, the very antiquity and apostolicity of this short creed, likewise its compulsory repetition by every Christian on the solemn occasion of baptism, would lend to its phrases a peculiar veneration and sanctity that would efficiently guard it from pagan contamination as a "forma sanorum verborum" that by common consent was looked on as *the* archaic heirloom of the missionary preaching of the apostolic twelve. In the struggle to oust Gnosticism from the primitive communities of the second century the worth and function of this antique heirloom became daily more evident. It was the same mental process that revealed to them (Eus. H. E. V, 28) the dogmatic value of their liturgy, in conflict with those contemporary "scientific" Theodotians who were the first to abuse at once genuine ecclesiastical traditions and that human learning which is otherwise so necessary to the illustration of Catholic doctrine.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Monuments Arabes de Tlemcen. Par William Marçais et Georges Marçais. Paris: Fontemoing, 1903. 8°, pp. v+355.

Tlemcen is a city of French Algiers, in the department of Oran. When the Arabs conquered Roman Africa early in the eighth century this municipality was known as Pomaria, and was then as now situated amid surroundings of exquisite beauty. In time it beheld Almoravid, Almohad, Abd-el-Wadite and Merimid dynasties; the children of the Prophet were subject in turn to their native Saracen rulers and to strong masters of Berber blood. In time, too, a distinctive native art developed on the soil where the Roman basilica had once lifted its solid mass. It is the history of this art as illustrated by the remaining monuments, chiefly mosques, of Tlemcen that the MM. Marçais have undertaken to outline in this volume. Historical erudition, minute personal investigation, a delicate professional sense of beauty and fitness, appear on every page of this work. The reader who loves to study in detail the gradual development of Saracen art will find this volume a model of special introduction. A lengthy introduction enlightens him as to the political history of Northern Africa in the eleven centuries of Muslim government, and the general vicissitudes of the territory of Tlemcen. Its most artistic monuments date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and as they are often dated and have seldom been rebuilt, they stand as chronological beacons before the wayfarer through the tangled province of mediæval Saracen art. While a certain Oriental influence is undeniable, the art and architecture of Tlemcen come indubitably from the same school that

produced the marvels of Seville and Cordova and Toledo, the Alhambra and the Alcazar. In the beginning the desert swordsmen, become masters of half the Roman Empire, imitated its religious and civil edifices, as they often borrowed its laws and continued its principles of administration. There are not a few survivals of Byzantium in Islam. We recommend to the student of mediæval architecture the learned and exact pages in which the MM. Marçais describe the evolution of the mosque from the Christian basilica of Byzantine type—its shape, orientation, proportions, furniture, dependencies, materials, masonry and carpentry; its employment of the arch, the corbel moldings, capitals; its painting, sculpture and wood-carving. Several pages are devoted to the peculiar Saracen art of faience-mosaic. In the field of polychrome ceramic the mediæval artist of Muslim Africa had nothing to learn from captive Copt or conquered Persian or hired Byzantine. He worked freely, joyously and creatively, at this marquetry in tiles whose durable materials hold forever, in defiance of rain and wind, the delicate hues and patterns once burned into them with incredible skill and patience. His abstract temperament, mathematical genius, and religious prejudice forbade him to do great things in painting and sculpture—but he created the most glorious calligraphy the world has ever seen. He literally wrote his art on the walls and along the friezes of his mosques, and around the pulpits of his preachers. Arabic inscriptions in Old-Cufic and later cursive abound, and fascinate the beholder by reason of their large sweep, their intricacy and delicacy, their mystery and solemnity. Because Islam was a *religion,* it created an art. There never was and never will be a great living art independent of religious emotions with a sure basis of belief. The inscriptional content of the Koran and the Canon Law of Islam, and the infinity of geometric linear combinations to which it was put in its reaction from idolatry, gave to Saracenic art its pecuilar *cachet*—it is truly art speaking, preaching, pleading, imperfectly if we will, but still with force and persuasion. —Even the Christian Spaniard, overflowing with hate of Islam, was carried away with the beauty of the Alcazar and continued its artistic traditions with such cunning imitation that to-day the historians of art welcome Tlemcen as a sure key to the best original Moorish work in Spain.

Though this volume is taken up mostly with the description and study of the mosques of Tlemcen, there are in it many details of private architecture, also some chapters on those madrasas (schools), tombs, and minarets, that afford the Muslim architect a field for his creative or imitative genius. The work is abundantly illustrated,

and is published under the auspices of the Algerian government that deserves well of the world of letters for its generosity toward the study of the past in one of its most ennobling and elevating phases.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechts. Von Dr. J. B. Sägmüller, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Tübingen, Third Part. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1904. 8°, pp. 434.

Dr. Sägmüller, of the Catholic Faculty of Theology in the University of Tübingen, brings to a close with this volume the Manual of Canon Law to whose first section we have already called the attention of our readers (BULLETIN, July, 1901, p. 330). In this closing section he manifests the merits that have given to the work a character of special usefulness—close attachment to the historical point of view and abundant bibliographical reference. His bibliographical paragraphs are always brought quite up to date. The canonical doctrine is usually expounded in the way befitting a manual—with clearness, sufficiency and order. Moreover, the text reposes ordinarily on the original authorities, whether of the "Jus novum" or the "Jus novissimum." A critical spirit pervades the exposition, and moderation is observed in the quantity of doctrine set before the youthful student. It seems to us that the manual of Dr. Sägmüller will hold its own creditably beside those other excellent manuals that we owe to Vering, Laemmer and Aichner. Naturally the politico-ecclesiastical relations of Germany affect the content of this and all similar works printed for that land—no small part of the Canon Law is due precisely to the regulation of "res mixtæ," and follows necessarily the political bent and genius of the peoples for whom it has been enacted. We can commend this work to all canonists and historians as one of solid doctrinal utility. It is marked by such a degree of finality as an exposition of law can at any time claim. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Theory of Education in Plato's Republic. By John E. Adamson. New York: Macmillan, 1903. 8°, pp. 258.

Aristotle on Education. By John Burnet. Cambridge University Press, 1903. 8°, pp. 141.

1. In twelve chapters Mr. Adamson undertakes to summarize the ideas of Plato on Education. In the "Republic" and in the "Laws," and occasionally elsewhere in his dialogues, Plato has written exhaustively concerning the ideal system of mental and physical formation, but in a manner that leads him to touch simultaneously on a

multitude of matters social, psychological and philosophical. This peculiarity of method offends and distracts beginners in the study of his educational ideas. Hence, the little book of Mr. Adamson in which the notions of Plato on literature, music, gymnastic, the necessity and utility of education, the cardinal virtues in society and in the individual, the primary and higher education, are collected, classified, and set down in a sequence intelligible and attractive to modern readers. After each summary of Plato's ideas he adds expository and critical notes in which he occasionally undertakes to show how Platonic ideas may illuminate modern educational problems. Thus, for instance (pp. 38, 341) his remarks on a censorship over the literature for the young and on the treatment of Bible stories are eminently just and sane.

2. In his "Ethics" and "Politics," Aristotle took up the question of education as a part of politics, therefore a practical rather than speculative science. Its purpose is so to form character that it will produce acts tending to social felicity, and then to prepare the soul for that right enjoyment of leisure which is possible only when practical needs are no longer urgent. In the former work Aristotle dealt with the notion of the Supreme Good for man, in the latter with its realization through the city-state of Hellenic type. Personal refinement, the liberal cultivation of the mind and will, the capacity to enjoy in a noble and dignified leisure the higher activities of our being, is the Aristotelian ideal of education, as contrasted with the aims of material enjoyment and political works, "We have here the perennial problem as to whether the end of education is culture or whether it is to fit us for the business of life" (p. 10). And at the end of his exposé, Dr. Burnet concludes that to-day, more than ever, do we need to inculcate the lesson that the right and noble use of leisure is the true aim of all education worthy of the name. There is great danger that our modern state shall accept too earnestly the position of the sophists, attacked by both Plato and Aristotle, that the production in the pupils of some immediate superiority easily turned to practical uses, is the true aim of all teaching. Life must have its sabbaths. The educational religion of the "useful and necessary" has certainly been overworked in our own age.

"There never was a time when this lesson required to be enforced more than at present. In former days, the strict observance of the day of rest provided in some measure for the 'theoretic life,' though no doubt in too narrow and mechanical a way. But the nineteenth century believed too exclusively in the Gospel of Work, and now—

> "The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers."

The Gospel of Work is a noble one and it has been nobly preached, but the neglect of the still higher Gospel of Leisure has produced the results which Aristotle has indicated so clearly. We cannot always work, and, if our education has not fitted us to use our spare time rightly, we are sure to take to the life of mere amusement. We all know men who would be transformed if they only knew what to do with themselves when they are not at work. We can all see that whole classes of the community are sunk in needless degradation just because their lives are a succession of periods of overwork and intervals of low or vicious relaxation. And we can see too that the end of the nineteenth century, the century of work, has been marked by a morbid and abnormal growth of the craving for amusement and excitement, which has threatened at times to break up society altogether. It is from the Greeks that we can best learn the cause and cure of these ills." (p. 141.) THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Principaux Auteurs de L'Antiquité à Consulter sur L'Histoire des Celtes depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'au régne de Théodose I. Essai chronologique par H. d'Arbois de Jubainville. (Cours de Littérature Celtique, Vol. XII.) Paris: Fontemoing, 1902. 8°, pp. 344.

In this twelfth volume of his Course of Keltic Literature, Professor d'Arbois has made public the lessons delivered at the Collège de France in the winter of 1900–1901. The subject matter is the material concerning the Keltic peoples of antiquity found scattered in the Greek and Roman writers from the earliest period to the end of the fourth century of the Christian era. In all there are one hundred and twenty-two authors from whose works, often lost, more or less lengthy fragments have been preserved. Professor D'Arbois ranges each fragment or excerpt in its proper chronological order, translates or summarizes it, and provides a brief commentary. In a word we have here a history of the Keltic peoples of antiquity as far as it seems now possible to reconstruct such a history from the written records that have come down to us through those foreign observers who wrote in Greek and Latin. It cannot be called a documentary history, for only too often the material of it is legendary and unreliable, nor can it be called a contemporary history, for the scattered observations were made at intervals covering a thousand years and have no logical connection with one another. We have here, as a rule, only faint echoes of Mediterranean gossip about the warlike tribes of the mysterious North and East, very interesting indeed, but far inferior in merit to the native materials that the nine-

teenth century has made known to us in abundance. Professor D'Arbois, in the preface to this volume, takes issue, after his own pleasant manner, with the chronology of Dom Bouquet (1738) in his folio volume on the same subject, with M. Edmond Cougny in his presentation (1878–1892) of extracts from Greek writers on the geography and history of Gaul, with Petrie and Hardy in their "Materials for the History of the Britons from the earliest period" and with Giles (1844) in his "Historical Documents concerning the ancient Britons." His own work is based on the better method and surer chronology of Hermann Peter in the first volume of the latter's "Historicorum Romanorum Relliquiae" (1870) and the "Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum" of Mommsen and Müller (1874) "La plupart des temps les doctrines auxquelles on pretend donner mon nom ont été empruntées par moi à nos voisins de l'Est et du Nord; ceux qui ne le savent pas n'ont pas lu les notes de mes livres et ignorent ce qui s'écrit hors de France." THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Roman Private Law in the Times of Cicero and of the Antonines. By Henry John Roby. Cambridge University Press, 1902. 2 vols. 8°, pp. xxxiii + 543, 560.

The purpose of Mr. Roby is to furnish English students of the Roman Law with a fuller account of its condition during the golden age of its development than is usually found in the current histories. The principal matter of his book is the private law of Rome as it stood from the days of Marcus Aurelius to the time of Alexander Severus, not the law as consolidated and enacted by Justinian in the second quarter of the sixth century. The great emperor certainly drew largely in the Digest on the classical jurisconsults, Julianus, Ulpian, Paulus, Modestinus, Papinian, but modern research has shown that his agent Tribonian often modified, altered, twisted, and otherwise interpolated these writings. At the best, only fragments have been kept, and they are no longer found in their original setting and sequence, nor are they certainly quoted in the Digest for the original purpose of the author. Constant vigilance is therefore needed in the use of such original texts as they are found in the Digest, lest the reader be led astray and accept for Antonine jurisprudence what is only a Byzantine alteration. And yet the greater part of the way back to the Roman Law of the Antonine period lies precisely through the Digest. Outside of its nearly ten thousand "sententiæ" independent materials are few and fragmentary. The speeches of Cicero contain some allusions to existing law, and those delivered in private

suits at Rome cast some light on the details of law and the courts. But it must be confessed that imperial jurisconsults, prætors, and rescripts had affected in two centuries or more not only the sources of law, but the provisions and even the ethos of the same. A partial relief was furnished in 1816 when Niebuhr discovered in the Chapter Library of Verona an uncial fifth-century manuscript, palimpsest and partly double-palimpsest, on which had been written the Institutes of Gaius, a professor of Roman Law in the latter half of the second century. But the scope of these "elements of law" was small, and there were many breaks in the manuscript that neither time nor ingenious theories and conjectures have rightly closed up. The Rules of Ulpian, the Opinions of Paulus, and the Vatican Fragments do throw some meagre and unsteady light on certain sections of the law in the second and third century. But in spite of these helps and others found in Bruns (Fontes Juris ante-Justinianaei, 6th ed. Mommsen and Gradenwitz, 1893) the description of Roman Law before Justinian must rest to a good extent on the citations made by Tribonian in the Digest from older law-books that were then destroyed with quasi-absolute success. Hence it will be always impossible to tell exactly how like or unlike the originals are the citations in the Digest from the great Roman jurisconsults. The emperor expressly says that he omitted some things, improved others, and often decided what had been left in the region of academic doubt. Whole "leges" and legal institutions had fallen into obsolescence in the fourth and fifth centuries. With them, of course, disappeared forever many distinctions and niceties necessary to appreciate certain changes made by Justinian in the Law, by a manipulation of ancient texts which we cannot now surely control or even describe with exactness.

It is therefore a delicate task to which Mr. Roby directs his energies. But he is an experienced writer, teacher and investigator, worthy to stand in the front rank of English exponents of the Roman Law. Long acquaintance with the history and institutions of Imperial Rome have endowed him with a keen sense of its shadings and variations from one epoch to another, that sure historical sense which often primes erudition and dialectical process. His work will be indispensable to all who care for the growth of the Code of Justinian, *i. e.*, who are interested in the steps and stages by which the world's first general law-code was put together and made to work for all civilized humanity, either as a direct norm or an indirect example and illustration. The ecclesiastical historian will profit by the doctrine on the connection of *sacra* with a deceased man's estate and on burials and graves (I, pp. 387–395); on deposits, pledges, and the like (II,

pp. 94, 127); on companies (corpora, actores, syndici, ib., pp. 133, 135). We are here in face of the Roman Law as Tertullian knew it and helped to make it and afterward denounced it, as Cyprian once expounded it, as it crops out in the writings of apologists, acts of martyrs, letters of bishops, edicts of emperors and provincial governors—that proud jurisprudence of which Tertullian once sarcastically remarked that after all it did not drop from the sky.

. . . . . .

Perhaps it did not fall within the scope of Mr. Roby to deal with the problem of the possible influence exercised by Christianity on the Roman Law in the second and third centuries. The great mediæval jurisconsult Baldus went so far as to hold that a certain edict of the prætor was inspired by the Holy Spirit. Saint Augustine's words are well known: "leges *divinitus* per ora principum emanarunt." In the panegyric of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus on Origen, he dwells on the profound esteem of the great theologian for the Roman Law and the majesty of the Latin formulas in which it was cast. At a later date Augustine said of the same that they were *ipsa ratio scripta.* Origen had dwelt long in the court of Alexander Severus at Antioch; the latter, it is well known, was wont to recommend his provincial governors to imitate the moderation and humanity of the Christian bishops. Around his apartment he had inscribed the words of the Golden Rule. On the contrary his great premier and jurisconsult Ulpian is said by the quasi-contemporary Lactantius to have been so bitter an opponent of the Christians that he actually codified the anti-Christian legislation. The admirable essay of M. Troplong on the influence of Christianity on the Roman Law has been lately reprinted (Tours, Cattier, 1902, 8°, pp. 259); we recommend its perusal with the writings of Champagny to all students of the liberal and transforming influences that have ever radiated from the gospel, in whatever region or epoch it was preached and established. In the imperial society of Rome, from Trajan to Aurelian, it was as much a moral light, salt, impulse, solicitation, example as it is to-day in our modern society. It was morally impossible that it should not have affected the legal thought and institutions of the highly susceptible City in which it was at an early date so firmly established. Some day there will come a man equipped to write the history of Stoicism and Stoic thought from the only proper view-point, that of the Christianity with which it had so intimate a natural relationship, and into which its best elements quickly drifted, although the actual processes must be forever obscure to our eyes. For such a writer it is reserved to reveal

the origins of the silent but puissant and uninterrupted infiltration of the spirit of Jesus Christ into the cosmopolitan legislation of Rome.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Origenes' Johanneskommentar, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Konigl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Von Lic. Dr. Erwin Preuschen in Darmstadt. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8°, pp. cviii + 668.

We have already called the attention of our readers to the praiseworthy enterprise of the Berlin Academy of Sciences in undertaking a new and complete edition of all Greek Christian writings of the first three centuries (cf. BULLETIN, January, 1900, pp. 63–76). Since then the work has gone steadily forward. Three volumes of the writings of Origen have been added to the first volume of the writings of Hippolytus, the "Dialogus de Fide" of Adamantius, the "Book of Henoch" and the first volume of the writings of Eusebius of Cæsarea. There now lie before us three other stately volumes of the same series that, it is hoped, will be complete in about fifty volumes. At the rate of publication every scholar may look forward to the near accomplishment of this monumental task, and thereby to the possession of the best possible text of all the Greek materials for the history of the earliest centuries of Christianity.

The first three volumes of the writings of Origen contain his Exhortation to Martyrdom, Eight Books against Celsus, On Prayer, the remnants of his homelies on Jeremias and commentaries on the Lamentations with the exposition of Samuel and Kings. The fourth volume brings us the remnants of his commentary on Saint John, a work that he probably toiled at with more or less regularity during nearly twenty years of his life (219–238), always under the impulse of his beloved but exacting "task-master," that Ambrosius whom Eusebius has immortalized (H. E. VI, 23; cf. Hieron, De viris inl. c. 61). Of the eight known manuscripts Dr. Preuschen considers the "Codex Monacensis græcus 191" the oldest, and in conjunction with "Codex Venetus 43" the most reliable witness of the text-tradition that we can now call upon. The Munich manuscript belongs to the end of the twelfth or the first part of the thirteenth century; that of Venice (Library of Saint Mark) is dated 1374, and offers a genuine critical recension of the text such as seemed proper to the unknown Byzantine theologian of repute and skill who executed it. From a number of ancient "Catenæ" (cf. BULLETIN, July, 1899, pp. 369–370) are collected fragments of a recension that goes back to the tenth, possibly to the ninth century. A Latin translation of the commentary was

printed in 1551 by Ambrogio Ferrari, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino. The first edition of the original Greek was owing to the famous Pierre Daniel Huet (Rouen, 1668). Then came the edition of Charles de la Rue in four volumes (1738–1739), of Oberthür (Würzburg, 1781–1786), of Lommatzsch (Berlin, 1831), and finally the edition of A. E. Brooke (Cambridge, 1896). In his "prolegomena" Dr. Preuschen discusses with almost finical accuracy the palæographical tradition of the text and its history in the world of theological letters. He discusses, too, the question of the New Testament text used by Origen. After calling attention to the fact that Origen often depended on his stenographer to insert the exact words of texts that he was dictating from memory, often combining two or more, Dr. Preuschen concludes that Origen made use of a New Testament recension that, not long perhaps before his own time, had become current and accepted at Alexandria. Concerning the known allegorical and spiritual tendency of Origen's exegesis the editor remarks (pp. lxxxviii, cv, cvi) that it was by no means an unbridled "Phantastik." Like his model Philo, he has certain rules on which he depends to preserve him from error. The text is sacred to him, as became the editor of the Hexapla, which superhuman task Dr. Preuschen declares (p. xci) "an honor to the philology of any century."

In this commentary Origen is wont, as far as the end of the eighth chapter of St. John, to refute certain Johannine glosses of the celebrated (Italian?) Gnostic Heracleon. By reason of his citation of the words of this skilful theologian of the Valentinian school (Clem. Alex. Stromata, IV, 9, 71, sq.) valuable fragments of a less visionary and more ethical Gnosticism have come down to us than we might have suspected from the constant attacks upon the "æons" by the earlier Christian writers. Dr. Preuschen opines that the founder of systematic Christian theology, though an allegorist, is yet the superior of the Gnostic. The latter knows no limit to his personal interpretation of texts, while Origen acknowledges both the usual doctrine of the Church and fixed principles of hermeneutic. They forbid him to seek a mystic sense in every word, regardless of consequences. Heracleon (p. cvi) represented the scientific criticism of that day striving indeed for simplicity and clearness, but useless for the purposes of the Church. Origen tried to satisfy both the claims of science and those of the Church. And he succeeded, in an eminent degree, when we take into consideration the age in which he lived. As to Heracleon, Dr. Preuschen sees in him no philosopher of religion, but a genuine theologian, the remnants of whose Gnostic exegesis are of extraordinary value for the study of Gnostic theology. Heracleon

is no gazer into the illimitable depths of being, but one weary of sin and striving after union with God, through faith in Him who sent Jesus into the world for the salvation of sinners.

A very special interest attaches to Heracleon as the earliest known commentator on St. John. If this commentary of Origen were not so badly mutilated we might possess much more of the Johannine glosses of the Gnostic theologian. As it is Heracleon assumes as strictly binding the entire gospel text that he occasionally submits to a minute analysis. Dr. Salmon (Dictionary of Christian Biography, II, 900) is of opinion that "the mere fact that a book like the gospel of St. John was held in equal honor by the Valentinians and the orthodox proves that it must have attained its position before the separation of the Valentinians from the Church." Hence the date of Heracleon is of some importance. It is variously estimated, from 115 to 170–180; the latter date would mark, according to Dr. Salmon, the center of Heracleon's activity. He had certainly long disappeared from the scene when, early in the third century, Origen undertook to refute him, even as Celsus was nearly a century dead when he wrote against him. The more we know of Origen the more clear it becomes that he was no sudden efflorescence of Christian life and thought, but the perfect flower of an intellectual movement that had its vigorous origins at Alexandria in the third quarter of the second century, and was quite surely no more than the formal organization in the Orient of that literary defence which had been carried on at Rome during the second quarter of the same century. Instinctively the Christian mind sought the real battlefield, the academic home of a new and inimical Platonism with its new weapons of literary criticism and ethical borrowings from Christianity.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Die Oracula Sibyllina bearbeitet im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Konigl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Von Dr. Joh. Geffcken, Oberlehrer am Wilhelm-Gymnasium in Hamburg. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8°, pp. liii + 240.

We are all familiar since childhood with the story of the Sibyl and King Tarquin and the final purchase of three out of nine of her famous "Books." That they were kept at Rome in a vault beneath the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus down to B. C. 83 is certain. In that year they perished during the conflagration of the Capitol. Another collection, a thousand verses it is said, was made by Roman agents in Italy, Sicily, Greece and Libya, placed for awhile in the same secure custody, but finally confided to the care of the Palatine

Apollo. From time to time these "Libri Sibyllini" were consulted by the emperors, but were at last publicly burned between 404 and 408 by the order of the Christian Stilicho. Their prophecies were no doubt a last hope of the refractory pagan aristocracy of the City. Long before this another collection of pseudo-Sibylline Greek "oracles" had been growing up from an almost equally obscure origin. We possess yet about four thousand such verses, the equal in quantity of the first six books of the Iliad. The oldest of them are referable to the middle of the second century B. C., and the latest to about A. D. 267, possibly to a still later date. Not only is it uncertain at what dates they were composed, but equally uncertain are the order of the twelve books in which they have come down to us, the order of the verses in each book, and indeed, the actual number of the books. The greater part of the third book is generally recognized to be the oldest; the fourth book bears traces of Christian origin. Certain verses of it seem to have been written by one who had survived in the same decade the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Elsewhere (VIII, 217–250) the famous acrostich that spells "Jesus Christ the Son of God, Saviour, Crucified," made a great impression from a very early date on the Christian mind. The Jewish threat of a final world-conflagration, inserted as an element of terror for the wavering pagan mind, lived on long enough to get itself immortalized in Christian circles:

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet sæclum in favilla
Teste David cum Sibylla.

Then, again, there are in these "Oracles" a few references to baptism and possibly to the Eucharist and to Christian ritual. The Greek text of the "Oracula Sibyllina" was first printed in 1545, without a Latin version. Since then they have often been re-edited; the most valuable of all editions is that of Charles Alexandre (Vol. I, Parts I–II, Paris 1843–1851; Vol. II, ib., 1856). The enormous material of this scholarly edition was condensed by M. Alexandre into one volume in 1869. But every student of the "Oracula," must have recourse to the second volume of the original edition of Alexandre. Here he will find all that can be known concerning the peculiar religio-social world of antiquity, in which these verses were brought forth—Greek oracle-mongers and dream-exegetes, ignorant Jewish proselytizers, forgers of apocalypses and "apocrypha," fanatic enemies of Rome—all those uncertain and floating human elements that eddied hither and thither along the line of demarcation between Judaism

and Hellenism, between both and Christianity, not to speak of the highly-strained emotion and the soaring mysticism within the Christian society itself, fed by the fire of Chiliasm and fanned by daily persecution. In one sense, the Sibylline Oracles are a kind of mirror of the state of religion in the Roman Empire at the time they were composed. Friedlieb published in 1852 an edition, valuable for its introduction and for a German metrical translation. In 1891 Alois Rzach edited again the Oracula Sibyllina, and Mendelssohn and Buresch were occupied at still another edition when death surprised them. Their work has been taken up by Dr. Johannes Geffcken and completed in the volume before us. Like his predecessors, he is bound to acknowledge that the text was corrupted almost as soon as it began its course of popularity. As it was essentially a product of "Volkslitteratur" this is what we might expect. Among the fathers of the Church, Theophilus of Antioch at the end of the second century makes use of the Oracles. Lactantius, however, was more than any other persuaded of their value and cited them abundantly. Clement of Alexandria, the Apostolic Constitutions, and even Constantine the Great, know them and cite them believingly. They held their own in the same religious and social milieu that accepted the Pseudo-Orphica and the "Zauberpapyri." The Byzantine Middle Ages seem to have cared little for them. The Greeks of the Orient had their own active prophecies that a thousand years later found their way into the open heart of Abbot Joachim of Floris in Calabria, got themselves adapted to existing situations, and through him made their way as living forces into the West, chiefly by the preaching of French and Italian Franciscans.

Long since, the pseudo-Sibylline Oracles have ceased to be the echoes of the ardent proselytism and religious longings of Greco-Roman visionaries and dreamers, oppressed Jews and persecuted Christians. But they will never cease to interest the student of antiquity, especially when he comes upon those depths and purlieus that are ignored by many historians as empty of interest, yet often give up certain real conditions of the life of the nameless voiceless multitude, their sorrows and their hopes, their beliefs and their hates, those innermost workings of the popular heart that are inscribed on no annals but are not therefore without consequence for the history of mankind.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes (?1447–1511) nouvelle édition, publiée avec une introduction et des notes, d'après un manuscrit inédit et complet. Par B. Mandrot. Vol. II, 1477–1498. Paris: Picard, 1903. 8°, pp. cxl + 438.

We have already noticed in the BULLETIN (July, 1902, pp. 346–347) the first volume of M. Mandrot's edition of the "Mémoires" of Philippe de Commynes. The second and final volume now lies before us, the record of those twenty decisive years in the latter quarter of the fifteenth century that saw the overthrow of the bold ambitious plans of the House of Burgundy as well as of the wary deep-laid schemes of its enemy, Louis XI. Could the statesmen of the time have looked forward another generation, what surprises would have been in store for them! Commynes is the first of modern historians. In his pages the human document is analyzed with an accuracy and a thoroughness that involuntarily recall his contemporary Niccolò Macchiavelli. Indeed, he has been accused of being only too apt a pupil of the latter, and of profiting only too well by the occasions that his intimacy with Louis XI gave him of reducing to practice the lessons of the Florentine secretary. For that matter, Commynes travelled extensively in his day through the Mediterranean lands, and might easily have imbibed in that way the general views and temper of which Macchiavelli was only the brilliant and abnormally bold exponent. In any case, Commynes wrote the history of his own times in a spirit of frankness, fulness, and psychological objectivity that appeals irresistibly to us moderns. It is true that Aeneas Sylvius had written in a preceding generation the very curious commentaries on his own time, a kind of frank personal confession. The Italian local historians of the period take regularly a larger view of the affairs of Italy. But no one broke away from the style and the limitations of the mediæval chronicle, let us say of Froissart and Monstrelet, with the finality of Commynes. First among historians he lifted the veil from the council-chamber of diplomacy and made known the greatest secrets of his time in that

> "livre qu'il fist
> En son vivant, ou nulle chose n'omist
> Qui ait esté par les grans de son temps
> Faitte et emprinse."

For his reputation it happened well that the cause of proud Burgundy collapsed precisely when he abandoned it to salute the rising star of France, also that his neglected education made it necessary for him to write in French, precisely at a time when the language still retained

no little of the virility of its parent and rival, the spoken Latin of the Middle Ages. Another generation of language-milliners will rob the cinquecento French of its martial directness and vigor—what a distance from the pages of Commynes to those of Ronsard and Marot! His is not the picturesque and lively page of Froissart that seems made for the lovely miniatures of the fourteenth century. Commynes is a philosopher, a diplomat, a grave moralist, to whom the tragic side of life is always visible, and who seeks constantly the causes and motives of the vicissitudes at which he assists. His portrait of the cautelous old king at Plessis-lez-Tours is one of the masterpieces of historical art. Never were the passion of power and the horror of losing it depicted in language so simple and unaffected, yet so charged with a suppressed emotion. Commynes' Louis XI opens worthily the long gallery of modern pen-portraits. His "Mémoires" were soon recognized as one of the "books of princes." It is true that he decorates with the fine names of "virtue" and "wisdom" deplorable acts of treachery, deceit and mendacity. A man is not easily better than his times. He has been accused of imitating Macchiavelli, whom he might have met in Italy in 1494—but there is no proof of this. Commynes was a man of Catholic faith and practice, a profound and enlightened believer in divine providence, on which he has written truly eloquent pages, a man of pity and affection for the oppressed poor, and no cynic. Both Charles the Fifth and Bossuet are said to have been constant readers of Commynes—it is no small honor to have fascinated and edified such men.

Few books have enjoyed a wider "clientela" than Commynes. Sleidan translated him into Latin (1545) and during the same century he was translated into Italian. Translations of the Mémoires eventually appeared in German, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish and English (Danett, 1674; Scoble, 1855–56). One hundred and twenty-three editions are described in the "Bibliotheca Belgica" of M. Van der Haeghen. It has been said that, with the exception of the Bible, no book has been so often reprinted. The present edition is made from a complete manuscript hitherto unknown, and more like the original autograph. It also contains, what the other manuscripts do not, the last two books. The pages are richly annotated. Most of the numerous persons mentioned in the text are furnished with a brief biographical sketch; sufficient light is thrown on some of the darkest points, and a select bibliography introduces us to a long list of learned works on the history of France in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Prayers and Meditations on the Life of Christ. By Thomas Haemerken a Kempis, canon regular of the Order of St. Augustine, translated from the text of the edition of Michael Joseph Pohl, D.D., by W. Duthoit, D.C.L. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1904. 8°, pp. xxviii + 330.

In 1902, Dr. Pohl, director of the Royal Gymnasium at Kempen, published the Latin original of a series of meditations on the Life of Christ usually attributed to Thomas a Kempis. Dr. Pohl had already treated of this rare work in an essay published at Kempen in 1895. The work consists of eighty-seven brief chapters of a contemplative content, set forth in two treatises and four parts. It breathes the spirit and recalls constantly the language, philosophy and views of the holy man of Agnetenberg. Dr. Duthoit has made a new translation from the text of Dr. Pohl, and we may say of it that seldom have we read theological English more idiomatic, vigorous, and natural. It is a genuine treat to walk in the footsteps of Christ beside a mentor so mellifluous and intelligent. Something of the peculiar rhythmic balance of the Imitation Latin is in these pages. Were it not for the ardent piety they exhale the delicate art of the semi-mystical, semi-oratorical language would be more in evidence. This translation we have called a new one—the first was printed at Paris 1663, by "Thomas Carre," otherwise Father Miles Pinkney, and was dedicated "to the Verie Venerable, his most honoured deare Lady Marie Tredway First Abbesse of Sion, Canonesses Regulars of St. Augustine Order established at Paris. And to her vertuous daughters." The same author had translated the Imitation of Christ in 1636, and dedicated it to the same person as being the work of "Thomas of Kempis your brother." This first English translation is only too faithful, too Latin-English for our modern taste. In 1760 another English translation was made by a Protestant writer, Henry Lee, but only about three tenths of the book came from Thomas a Kempis; the author averred that he had taken great liberties "where it was needful to rectify some error." In 1892 Dr. S. Kettlewell published another translation in two editions. In this translation, against equity and propriety, Dr. Kettlewell avows that he had "carefully excluded any words sanctioning Mariolatry and the Invocation of Angels or any occasional allusion to some corruption or error in the Pre-Reformation Church" (Duthoit, p. xxvi). The work of Kettlewell also abounds in intentional omissions and alterations, to such an extent that frequently the original text is scarcely recognizable. In the present work a "vera effigies" of Thomas a Kempis is printed as a frontispiece, and in the opening pages of the preface Dr. Duthoit fur-

nishes the few known facts concerning the life of this true religious, "a man who was happier in his cell than out of it, and took little or no interest in the affairs of the outside world."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Problems and Persons. By Wilfred Ward. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. liv + 377.

The essays that make up Mr. Wilfred Ward's latest book have all, with one exception, appeared in reviews in the course of the past eight years. Those who are familiar with the author's previously published works will be glad to find these scattered papers, many of which are of permanent apologetic value, collected in a form more accessible to the average reader than the reviews in which they originally were printed.

In the first four essays on the "Time-Spirit of the Nineteenth Century," the "Rigidity of Rome," "Unchangeful Dogma and Changeful Man," and the "Foundations of Belief," the author deals with the problems which in modern times have arisen along the new relations of science to religion brought about by the great progress made in scientific knowledge during the nineteenth century. Our knowledge has been placed in a "new framework" consisting chiefly in the application of the evolution principle not only to the universe at large but to society also. The idea of man as a developing social organism first took definite form in the last century. But this process of development, being itself an organic growth, must also extend to his knowledge. The achievement of many intellects is ratified at a certain point by common consent and is thus added to the sum total of human knowledge. The author goes on to show the effect upon theology of the new mode of regarding things. Old theological "formulæ" have in many instances to be refashioned to meet the exigencies of the time-spirit, but it is at the same time true that the theology of no age has been unalterable or final, dogmas defined by the Church being, of course, excepted. The principle of development was always in operation, though its pace in previous years has not been quite so apparent as to-day. The realization of this fact supplies "the key to a solution of our present difficulties and should eventually prove an antidote to doubt." In his second paper, Mr. Ward calls attention to a fact frequently forgotten, viz., that in the Middle Ages "when the Church was acknowledged, a large measure of free debate and free assimilation among individuals was the habit of the hour." The intellect in the words of Cardinal Newman then enjoyed "a licentious revel while the result of the Reformation was to reverse the rule."

When Europe was wholly Catholic free speculation might be indulged in, but now that the unity of Western Christendom was broken, when "there were foes abroad," the old-time freedom had to be restricted by authority.

Prospective readers who may not be attracted by the philosophical portions of the present work will find in it abundance of a lighter, though scarcely less interesting matter in the papers on Huxley, Tennyson, Mrs. Augustine Craven, and others. Those on "Two Mottoes of Cardinal Newman" and "Newman and Renan" belong rather to the philosophical class.

The first four of these essays will be welcomed as among the best expressions of opinion from a Catholic point of view on the problems therein discussed. The fact that certain theological opinions require modification in order to fit into the "new framework" by no means implies that the essential features of religion are irreconcilable with the claims of science. In his previous works, as well as in that now published, Mr. Wilfred Ward has done much to show that the much heralded conflict between faith and reason is more apparent than real.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

The Story of a Labor Agitator. By Joseph Buchanan. New York: Outlook Co., 1903. 8°, pp. 461.

Children of the Tenements. By Jacob Riis. New York: Macmillan, 1903. 8°, pp. 387.

Annuaire-Almanach de L'Action Populaire. Lille: Guide Social, 1904. 8°.

Les Etapes du Socialisme. By Paul Louis. Paris: Charpentier, 1903. 8°.

I. "The Story of a Labor Agitator" is an interesting autobiographical sketch by Mr. Buchanan covering the period from 1878 to 1890. The narrative is interesting in manner as well as in content. The author had had a peculiarly varied experience as printer, editor, unionist, socialist, politician. The period of his activity in labor circles witnessed the great transition through which the labor movement passed in the United States, when conservative and radical elements became distinct, and the conservative reformers in labor unions went over from the principle of the Knights of Labor to that of the trade union. Here and there the author touches on the great issues involved, in a way to make the volume very interesting to the students of labor unions. One may take exception to the manner in which the author in some cases describes his relations with asso-

ciates in the movement, but on the whole the book is a useful personal document.

2. In Mr. Riis' volume, we have a series of life-pictures which had their origin in the author's work as a New York reporter. The book is interesting rather than important. It will convey a certain amount of information, but it falls below the powers and knowledge of the author. He is usually so direct and intense that one looks for purpose and force in a volume from his pen on tenement children. Instead, we have a pleasant unrelated series of sketches, well told, but with no apparent aim other than narrative.

3. The Annuaire-Almanach contains a fund of information concerning the whole social movement in France. Many among the best known names in France are found in the list of contributors. Nearly every form of society or guild which is engaged in reform or charitable endeavor finds a place in the succinct volume. Bibliographical notes are appended to the more important chapters.

4. The author of this volume traces the development of socialistic thought in France from the Revolution to the present. Students of Socialism are familiar with the names and the thought here treated. The concluding line of the preface is one that merits notice because of the brief way in which the author states the cardinal error of socialism. "Le socialisme doit haïr et combattre les institutions: il ignore les individus." WILLIAM J. KERBY.

An Essay on Laughter. By James Sully. New York: Longmans, 1902. Pp. xvi + 441.

The well-known English psychologist gives us in this volume a very complete account of laughter and the laughable. It is a serious inquiry that he undertakes. From his point of view laughter "has its significance as a function of the human organism and as spreading its benefits over all the paths of life." It is therefore a phenomenon to be described, analyzed and scientifically explained.

After enumerating the causes and varieties of laughter, the author reviews the more important theories of the ludicrous. Aristotle, Hobbes and Bain are representatives of the Theory of Degradation which ascribes the force of the laughable to something unworthy in the object, some deformity or loss of dignity the perception of which makes us realize our own superiority. Kant and Schopenhauer, seeking an explanation in the mind's intellectual activity, put forward the Theory of Contrariety or Incongruity: we laugh when strained expectation is suddenly transformed into nothing. Both theories are found inadequate; and attempts at combining them are of no avail. "We

must resort to the genetic method, and try to explain the action of the ludicrous upon us in the modern scientific fashion by retracing the stages of its development."

On this plan, Professor Sully correlates the various problems and facts bearing on his subject: the origin of laughter; its development in the early years of life; the laughter of savages; social, individual and artistic forms and characteristics. The discussion closes with a chapter on the ultimate value and limitations of laughter, which brings in the philosophic point of view.

The treatment is marked by caution and critical reserve. Facts and conjectures are carefully distinguished. The anthropomorphic tendency, which appears so promptly at mention of the principle of evolution, is held in check. That the book leaves many questions unsettled in no way lessens its value as a systematic presentation of known facts or as an inquiry suggestive of further investigation in the same field. E. A. PACE.

Lex Orandi, or Prayer and Creed. By George Tyrrell, S.J. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. xxxii + 216.

The views set forth some years ago by the author of this work on "The True and False Mysticism" (*American Ecclesiastical Review*, (1899) XXI, pp. 389, 472), will serve as an excellent introduction to the present volume. Father Tyrrell would doubtless resent the idea that his book is hereby a mystical treatise; nevertheless some knowledge of his attitude toward mysticism will afford a key to much that is said here. The book contains a lengthy introduction and twenty-seven chapters devoted to a discussion of the most fundamental ideas of the Christian religion. The entire treatise is based on two assumptions which the author is at pains to explain in detail in his introduction. These are: "First, it is assumed that as in the concrete simplicity of man's spiritual nature we may usefully distinguish an æsthetic, a scientific, a moral sense, so also may we distinguish a religious sense whose developments, healthy or unhealthy, furnish an experimental criterion of belief, one whose verdict is often not less considerable than that of a strictly intellectual criterion." The second assumption is "that the spiritual life of man is exigent . . . not merely of religion, but of the supernatural religion of Christianity."

There can be very little doubt of the apologetic uses of this standpoint. It certainly meets the difficulties raised by scientific students of religion and affords faith and science a common meeting ground. The high spiritual tone of the work, the author's grasp of

modern problems, the sympathy evinced for the perplexities of present day religious experience, make it perhaps the most stimulating of Father Tyrrell's contributions to the literature of theology.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Précis des Institutions Publiques de la Grèce et de Rome Anciennes. Par l'Abbé A. Boxler. Paris: Lecoffre, 1903. 12°, pp. xxvi + 422.

The nature of the subject treated of in this book, at once comprehensive and complex, has not prevented the author from giving a clear and succinct account of the Public Institutions of the Greeks and Romans. The similarity of the two civilizations does not relieve him from the necessity of treating each separately. Attention is first directed to the system of chronology and of weights and measures used by the Greeks; then follow the principles underlying their legal and political systems, their different forms of government, the rules governing their national assemblies and international relations, the political institutions of Athens and Sparta, and finally the important question of religion and worship. The same plan and the same order are followed in dealing with Roman affairs. The scope of the work embraces only the classical period of Greece and Rome; hence nothing is said of Grecian institutions during the later Hellenic period, or of the changes they underwent under the influence of Roman domination. In like manner no account is taken of the changes and development in Roman public life after the middle of the third century of our era. The book is written for students of the classics, to whom it cannot fail to be of much utility. PATRICK J. HEALY.

Le Saint Empire, du Couronnement de Charlemagne au sacre de Napoléon. Par Jean Birot. Paris: Lecoffre, 1903. 12°, pp. xvi + 272.

This work, a series of separate studies rather than a connected narrative, deals mainly with three phases of the history of the Holy Roman Empire, its establishment, its most flourishing period and its gradual decline. In the first part the author briefly states what this Empire was, the elements—Christian, Roman, and Pagan—out of which it grew. He traces its growth and discusses its distinctive institutions, such as feudalism and free towns, and defines its general character and scope. The second part is mainly occupied with the struggles between the Papacy and the Emperors, the memorable contest on Investitures and the long wars of the Guelfs and Ghibellines.

In the last part he relates the gradual decline of its power and importance until the Holy Roman Empire was merely a name. The last chapters treat of Napoleon's coronation and of his schemes of Empire. The work is less detailed and less comprehensive than that of Bryce, but it has the advantage of indicating clearly the salient features and the historic significance of this attempt to combine for the good of humanity the activities of the spiritual and the temporal powers.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Descriptive Chemistry. By Lyman C. Newell, Ph.D. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. vi +590.

The successful teacher of chemistry is one who brings to his classroom a much broader knowledge of his subject than that contained between the covers of his text-book. Besides an intimate knowledge of the principles, methods and data which he endeavors to impart, he should have at his disposal a great number of interesting facts bearing on the matter under discussion. The early experimenters and their crude apparatus, the history of the elements, the derivation of the compounds which the great chemical industries transform into marketable commodities, the reduction of ores, the chemical processes which prevail in the various arts, the applications of chemistry to the needs of daily life—all these are topics of absorbing interest to an intelligent class. Yet, though the erudition which this degree of knowledge implies might be expected in a chemical expert, it will hardly be looked for in the equipment of a teacher in our secondary schools. Dr. Newell, however, has brought this grasp of the subject within the reach of every teacher of chemistry. His "Descriptive Chemistry" is a veritable little encyclopædia of the science. In addition to its statement of chemical laws and phenomena, a feature common to all text-books, it contains a mass of facts drawn from all departments of the science, which are adduced to explain, illustrate and clarify some point under discussion. Problems abound and fix in the pupil's mind the most important laws. Every chapter closes with a number of suggestive questions. The book is thoroughly up to date in its presentation of the essential ideas of modern chemistry, such as the theory of dissociation and the phenomena of stereo-isomerism, and its treatment of the working processes of the chemical industries, particularly in the exposition of electrolytic methods, is clear and accurate. The experiments which serve as an appendix to the text are well-chosen, and are such as require very little elaborate apparatus; they are, moreover, interspersed with frequent questions for review which will be found advantageous in calling the pupil's

attention to the salient points of his work. The production of this book represents an immense amount of reading and investigation on the part of its author. The index of the book is contained in forty-five pages of double column, and this fact in itself is indicative of its comprehensive character.

On the whole, Newell's "Descriptive Chemistry" will prove an invaluable assistant to the teacher, and an efficient aid to the student who endeavors to wend his way into this field of science by self-instruction. The imprint of the publishers on the title-page is a guarantee of the excellent mechanical execution of the book.

J. J. GRIFFIN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Priest, His Character and Work. By James Keatinge, Canon and Administrator of St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, and Diocesan Inspector of Schools. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 323.

Father Keatinge has put down in this book the fruits of the experience of nearly three decades of parochial work. His purpose is to be helpful to his younger brethren in the formation of personal spirituality and in the exercise of their daily functions. Of the Catholic priesthood in particular has it been well written:

> "The lyfe so short, the craft so long to lerne,
> Th' assay so hard, so sharp the conquering."

He writes in an easy familiar way, and leaves untouched no side of the manifold priestly career,—preparation, positive and negative, functions, dangers, occupations, public and private, official and voluntary. It is a very worthy and earnest book, and merits a permanent place in that admirable library of sacerdotal pedagogy which reaches from the Pastoral Epistles to the Eternal Priesthood of Cardinal Manning.

Studies in Saintship. Translated from the French of Ernest Hello with an Introduction by Virginia M. Crawford. London: Methuen, 1903. 12°, pp. 219.

M. Hello, we learn from the introduction, was a "thinker of such keenness of vision, a writer of such purity of diction, that at his best, he may be read with delight by those who do not share his intellectual and spiritual convictions." Without in the least doubting the trans-

lator's claims on behalf of M. Hello, it is to be regretted that she did not select from his writings something which would better establish his title to "keenness of vision" than the present work. This consists of sixteen character-sketches of saints, including such admirable subjects as St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great and St. Bernard. M. Hello's studies do not seem to us either very profound or very original. The work, however, may be useful to those who cannot spare time to peruse larger works, such, for instance, as those composing "The Saints" series.

Il Pensiero Cristiano Nell'arte. By Alessandro Ghignoni. Rome: Fr. Pustet, 1903. 8°, pp. xiii + 272.

The idea suggested by the title of this volume naturally leads the reader to suppose that the author's purpose is to indicate the "thought" which inspired the Christian artists of the Catacombs. Such a supposition can hardly be said to be verified. The book is tiresomely rhetorical; its argumentation is distinguished chiefly by exclamation points and interrogation marks. The author informs us (p. 177) that "the various medallions depicted on tombs are beyond doubt (senza dubbio) real portraits" and takes Armellini to task (p. 183) for asserting that portraits are exceptional in the catacombs. This is only one of several groundless and exploded hypotheses put forward as beyond question.

Le Catacombe ed il Protestantesimo. By Prof. Orazio Marucchi. Rome: Fr. Pustet, 1903. 12°, pp. 39.

In this brochure Professor Marucchi disposes of the objections advanced by some non-Catholic writers who deny the symbolic purpose of sacred representations in the Catacombs. This part of the professor's task is excellently performed; unfortunately he is himself inclined to go to the opposite extreme by seeking religious symbolism in frescoes that are merely decorative in character.

The History of Two Ulster Manors and of their owners. By the Earl of Belmore. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. xiv + 456.

The Earl of Belmore's work is a valuable contribution to the history of two Irish counties, Tyrone and Fermanagh, from the seventeenth century to the present time. Those interested in the famous "Land Question" of Ireland, now fortunately settled—or at least

believed to be settled—will find in the present work much interesting and useful information on a local phase of its history during the past two centuries. The relation between landlord and tenant on two typical Irish estates from the date of the Williamite wars are here set forth fully and clearly. In one respect, however, these estates do not appear to have been typical Irish properties; their tenants seem, fortunately, to have been dealt with more honorably and justly than those on the majority of Irish estates.

Mistakes and Misstatements of Myers. Notes on Myers' Mediæval and Modern History, by Rev. William E. Randall. Columbia, Mo.: 1903. Pp. 350.

The author has taken it upon himself to correct what he regards as "mistakes and misstatements" in the work of Mr. Myers. His idea of what constitutes these two objectionable features is very often rather subjective. We find for instance (p. 21) the following statements of Mr. Myers relative to the conversion of England, subjects of criticism: "The land became crowded with monasteries and nunneries"; "perhaps no other Teutonic tribe gave up so much of their native ferocity." "The practice of arms was discouraged and neglected." These are only a few examples from among many of what the author regards as "mistakes" or "misstatements" of Mr. Myers. Father Randall is frequently hypercritical. The removal of a large quantity of padding and the adoption of a more moderate tone would greatly increase the value of his book.

L'Evangile de Saint Jean, Commentaires, par P. M. C. Missionaire apostolique. Tome I, Vie Publique de Jésus. Hongkong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Etrangères, 1902. Pp. xl + 691.

The first twelve chapters of the Gospel are discussed in this volume. A chronological order is followed. Amongst the moderns, Knabenbauer, Martin and Fillion have been the author's guides. In addition all the leading Catholic exegetes of the past have been often and much used. It is pervaded throughout with great reverence for the Gospel history, and for the words in which it is told.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
LIBRARY

BOOKS RECEIVED.

L'Exégèse de M. Loisy. Par Pierre Bouvier, prêtre, 2d ed. Paris: V. Retaux, 1904. 8°, pp. 71.

The History of Religious Education in the Public Schools of Massachusetts. By Rev. Louis S. Walsh, D.C.L., Supervisor of Schools, Archdiocese of Boston. Reprint from Am. Cath. Quart. Review. January, 1904.

From Doubt to Faith. By Rev. F. Tournebize, S.J., translated from the French by Rev. J. M. Leleu. Herder: St. Louis, 1904. 8°, pp. 89.

The Man Who Pleases and the Woman Who Charms. By John A. Cone. New York: Hinds and Noble, 1904. 8°, pp. 131.

Rapport du Séminaire Historique de Louvain sur les Travaux pendant L'Année Académique, 1902–1903. Louvain: 1903. 8°, pp. 53.

The Arapaho Sun Dance; The Ceremony of the Offerings Lodge. By George A. Dorsey, Curator of the Department of Anthropology. Chicago: Field-Columbian Museum, 1903. 8°, pp. 238, with 137 illustrations.

Manual of Confirmation Containing Instructions and Devotions for Confirmation Classes. By P. J. Schmitt. New York: J. Schaefer, 1904. 8°, pp. 206.

El Gran Galeoto, Drama en tres actos y en verso, precedado de un dialogo en prosa, par José Echegaray. Edited with introduction and notes by Aurelio M. Espinosa, Ph.B. Boston: C. A. Koehler and Co., 1903. 8°, pp. xix + 196.

Short Instructions in the Art of Singing Plain Chant, etc., designed for the use of Catholic Choirs and Schools. By J. Singenberger. New York: Fr. Pustet, 1903. 4th ed. 8°, pp. 97.

The Obligation of Hearing Mass on Sundays and Holidays. By Rev. J. T. Roche. Brooklyn, N. Y.: International Catholic Truth Society, Arbuckle Building, 1903. 8°, pp. 71.

Retraite Ecclésiastique d'Aprés L'Evangile et les vies des Saints. Par un Religieux de l'Ordre des Frères-Précheurs. Rome: Imprimerie Vaticane, 1903. 8°, pp. 451.

Two Little Girls. A Story for Children. By Lilian Mack. New York: Benziger, 1904. 12°, pp. 145.

The Haldeman Children. By Mary E. Mannix. New York: Benziger, 1904. 12°, pp. 154.

Kind Hearts and Coronets. By J. Harrison. New York: Benziger, 1904. 8°, pp. 279.

The Great Captain. By Katharine T. Hinkson. New York: Benziger, 1902. 8°, pp. 122.

The Fatal Beacon. By F. von Brackel. New York: Benziger, 1904. 8°, pp. 201.

The Young Color Guard. By Mary G. Bonesteel. New York: Benziger, 1902. 8°, pp. 166.

Excerpta ex Rituali Romano pro Administratione Sacramentorum, etc., Editio 13ª. New York: Pustet, 320. Pp. 423.

Handy Manual of Pontifical Ceremonies. By P. Francis Mershman, O.S.B. St. Louis: Herder, 1904. 8°, pp. 275.

NOTES AND COMMENT.

The French Theatre and Christian Morality.—In a small volume of great merit, M. François Veuillot dissects the moral teaching of a certain number of modern French plays. This teaching is no longer the resultant of the action of the play—it often takes the solemn form of a doctrine expressly inculcated and placed in the mouth of some actor. Thereby the theatre tends to divide with the modern historical novel the province that the latter has lately been usurping from the philosophers and the theologians. Both the theatre and the novel have frequently gone out of their proper limits and undertaken to solve problems of which they may well set forth the elements, but the answers to which are too grave and complicated to be enounced fully and dispassionately before the footlights or among the frivolities of a love-story. Marriage, divorce, the education of children, feminism, labor and capital, the social evil, aristocracy of land and of money, the pride of modern science, ecclesiastical celibacy, faith and reason—these are so many rubrics under which M. Veuillot expounds the formalistic teaching of the modern French stage. Occasionally he has a merited word of praise, but more frequently the résumé of the playwright's morality shows with due clearness that it is impotent, inconclusive and insufficient, when it is not positively a peril to society and a source of the greatest moral disasters. *Castigat ridendo mores* might be said of the old French play, that with all its drawbacks recognized virtue and vice for what they really were. But the newer stage inverts the rôles, and seems bound on making the worse appear the better cause. Even the play-house is being drawn into the large and conscious struggle that is centering around education in France. For us all there is a note of warning in this phenomenon, since the current of modern revolution usually rises in France. (Les Prédicateurs de la Scène, Paris, V. Retaux, 1904, 8°, pp. 327.)

Monasticism and the Worship of Serapis.—Among the eccentric but eruditely defended historical theses of the nineteenth century is the Weingarten theory (1877) of a downright pagan origin of Christian Monasticism. It was declared to be merely an ancient institution of the Egyptian priesthood, a peculiarity of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria. According to Grützmacher (1896), Saint Pachomius, the founder of Egyptian Monasticism had been a "monk" of Serapis; thus the transition was both natural and historical. These

fantastic notions have been definitely refuted by Dom Butler (Lausiac History of Palladius, Cambridge, 1898) and by Dr. Ladeuze of Louvain (Le Cénobitisme Pakhomien, 1898; cf. BULLETIN, January, 1900, pp. 81–87, for the refutation of Basset, Grützmacher and Amélineau). Dr. Edwin Preuschen, one of the principal patrological scholars of Germany, adds the weight of his learning and his authority to the conclusions of these writers. In a very careful study of all the original materials he has shown that there is no evidence to connect Pachomius with the worship of Serapis, and that thereby falls the last possibility of any connection between the pagan and the Christian times along the line of monasticism. He is of the same opinion as Flinders Petrie (Religion and Conscience in Early Egypt, London, 1898) viz., that any such ascetic tendencies were foreign to the Egyptian religion. It is to be hoped that non-Catholic manuals of history will withdraw from their pages this false assertion, and that it will soon follow into oblivion the equally false theories about the "Vita Antonii" and the extra-Roman origin and anti-Roman character of the primitive Keltic churches, both theories of German origin but that have been refuted by German scholarship. (Mönchthum und Serapiskult, 2d ed., Giessen, J. Ricker, 1900. 8°, pp. 67.)

Correspondence of Baronius.—Nearly fifty years ago Dr. Hugo Laemmer, now professor of Canon Law at Breslau, gave up his place as a teacher in the University of Berlin and became a Catholic. The story is told in his delightful book (Misericordias Domini, Freiburg, 1861). Since then he has been an investigator in the libraries and archives of Rome; many a document of historical value owes its publication to him. His "Analecta Romana" and his "Monumenta Vaticana" (1861) together with his "Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa" (1875) are of constant utility to the historian of the Reformation. He has contributed similarly to the history of the Greek Church, and of the Roman Martyrology. We owe him an excellent edition of the Church History of Eusebius (1859–1862) and an admirable Manual of Canon Law (1886–1892), an edition of Saint Anselm's Cur Deus Homo (1857), a work on the State-Church of Byzantium (1857) and other writings of a high order of merit. In the brochure before us, Dr. Laemmer has collected many of his contributions to the correspondence of Baronius—one of the valuable sources of ecclesiastical history in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. These additions to the letters of Baronius make a notable addition to the four hundred and seventy-one published by the Oratorian Alberici in 1759, and

which have hitherto represented the known epistolary legacy of the great historian. Dr. Laemmer has found many letters in the Bibliotheca Vallicellana and in five or six other Roman libraries and archives. These discoveries represent exhaustive researches that have been inspired by a hope to write some day a suitable life of Baronius. The additional letters of Baronius are particularly valuable for any accurate history of the publication of the "Annales Ecclesiastici," an event that gave Catholicism its first breathing-space in the fierce historico-theological conflict with Protestantism that filled the latter half of the sixteenth century. (De Caesaris Baronii Litterarum Commercio Diatriba, scripsit Hugo Laemmer, Friburgi Brisgoviae Herder, 8°, pp. viii + 110.)

The Catholics of France.—M. Léon Chaine, a barrister of Lyons, discusses in a very frank and direct way many of the weaknesses of French Catholicism. His work has grown out of an open letter to his co-religionists during the Dreyfus "Affaire," in which he defended the cause of the latter. M. Chaine is an ardent Catholic, but considers that his devotion to the faith is only another reason for rejecting all responsibility for the excrescences that grow up about it, and are often held by outsiders to be essential elements of it, sometimes because of their popularity, sometimes because of the ardor with which they are defended. These pages of M. Chaine are devoid neither of interest nor of instruction—he is an admirer of our American Catholic life and would gladly see its spirit and some of its institutions transferred to his native land. (Les Catholiques Francais, et leurs difficultés actuelles, Paris, A. Storck et Cie, 1893, 8°, pp. 414.)

United States Historical Documents.—Dr. William Macdonald, professor of History in Brown University, has published a third series of documents illustrative of the history of the United States. The previous two volumes contained select charters and other documents (1606–1775) and select documents (1776–1861). The present volume offers similar material from 1861 to 1898. The student will find here many of the great constitutional documents of the War of the Confederacy and the subsequent stirring years, also documents concerning such important points of congressional legislation as the currency, immigration, polygamy, trusts, interstate commerce and similar subjects. The work is of genuine utility for the higher classes of history in colleges and academies. (Select Statutes and Other Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States, 1861–1898, New York, Macmillan, 1903. 8°, pp. 442.)

The Religious Education Association.—We have received from the Executive Office of the Association (153–155 La Salle Street, Chicago) a copy of the "Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the Religious Education Association," held at Chicago, February 10–12, 1903. The importance of the addresses and the subsequent discussion is so great that we hope to return to the subject in a future number.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION.

The tenth annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the University was held in McMahon Hall, at the University, on the afternoon of February 10, Rev. Dr. Lucas, of Blossburg, Pa., First Vice-President of the Association, being in the chair. Dr. Kerby reported for the committee appointed at the last meeting for the purpose of devising means for securing funds to pay for the library of the late Dr. Bouquillon. A discussion of the subject followed the report. It was finally moved and carried that a committee of three be appointed to draw up a plan for immediate action on the question of the Bouquillon Library fund, the committee to report before the adjournment of the meeting. Father Smith, Drs. Kerby and Fitzgerald were constituted this committee. A motion to appoint a secretary who would be a resident of the University and who would hold office for five years was carried. The committee on the Bouquillon Library fund having completed its deliberations submitted the following recommendations:

1. That the work of soliciting subscriptions be placed in the hands of one member of the association.
2. That he be directed to prepare a circular letter to be sent to all the former students of the University, calling attention to the action of last year's and this year's meetings and soliciting subscriptions to the fund.
3. That he be authorized to pay to the Rector funds collected and that he be required to hold the Rector's receipt for same, as paid.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted and a motion was carried that Dr. Kerby be appointed treasurer of the library fund and that he be commissioned to solicit subscriptions. A committee consisting of members of the Alumni who belonged to the teaching corps of the University was appointed to make a thorough revision of the Constitution and report at the next meeting. The Alumni Association offered its congratulations to Drs. Melody, Healy, Hassett, Shields and

Father Purtell—members of its body, who had been recently appointed to the teaching staff of the University. It was decided to hold the next meeting of the Association in Philadelphia.

The following were elected officers for the ensuing year:

President: Rev. Wm. J. Higgins, Philadelphia, Pa.

First Vice-President: Rev. L. B. Norton, Coaldale, Pa.

Second Vice-President: Rev. Wm. Martin, New York, N. Y.

Secretary: Rev. John Webster Melody, D.D., Catholic University.

Treasurer: Rev. P. H. Sheridan, Baltimore, Md.

Historian: Rev. P. Duffy, New York, N. Y.

Executive Committee: Rev. Frs. Crane, Kirlin, Bradley and McSorley, of Philadelphia, Pa.

The meeting adjourned, the members repaired to Rauscher's in the city where they sat down to their annual banquet. The board being cleared felicitous responses were given to a number of toasts: Rev. Dr. William Fitzgerald, of Millville, N. J., replied to the toast "Our Holy Father," Mr. William DeLacey to that of "Our Country" while "Our Alma Mater" was eloquently spoken to by Rt. Rev. Bishop O'Gorman, of Sioux Falls. The impromptu speech of Rev. Father McCready, Ph.D., of New York, a guest of the Alumni, was much enjoyed, as were the words of Dr. Chas. P. Neil, who took for his theme "Lay Coöperation." A stirring address by the new Rector of the University, Rt. Rev. Mgr. O'Connell, whom many of the Alumni met on this occasion for the first time, brought the very happy function to a close.

At the banquet were the following members of the Alumni Association: Rev. Geo. Lucas, D.D., Blossburg, Pa.; Rev. Thomas E. Shields, Ph.D., University; Rev. Wm. J. Higgins, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph.D., University; Rev. William Fletcher, D.D., Baltimore, Md.; Rev. William Fitzgerald, J.C.D., Millville, N. J.; Rev. Jos. McSorley, C.S.P., St. Thomas College, University; Rev. Edward O'Connor, Troy, N. Y.; Rev. J. Butler, Boston, Mass.; Rev. L. McNamara, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Joseph McGinley, Bay Shore, N. Y.; Rev. Lemuel Norton, Coaldale, Pa.; Mr. B. Dunlap, Sacramento, Cal.; Mr. Thompson, Bardstown, Ky.; Rev. J. Gallagher, Philadel-

phia, Pa.; Rev. E. Buckey, Washington, D. C.; Rev. J. Graham, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Philip Sheridan, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. M. McSorley, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mr. Wm. DeLacey, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Geo. Hickey, Urbana, Ohio; Rev. Wm. Martin, New York, N. Y.; Rev. J. Brady, New York, N. Y.; Rev. H. Marks, Washington, D. C.; Rev. J. Crane, Boston, Mass.; Rev. T. McGuigan, Washington, D. C.; Rev. S. Wiest, Harrisburg, Pa.; Rev. Jos. Smith, New York, N. Y.; Rev. C. Crowley, New York, N. Y.; Rev. Drs. W. Kerby, C. Aiken, J. Maguire, H. Hassett, P. Healy, J. M. Melody and Father Purtell, of the University. The following were at the banquet as guests of the Alumni Association: Rt. Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, Bishop of Sioux Falls, S. Dakota; Rt. Rev. Mgr. D. O'Connell, Rector of the University; Rev. Chas. McCready, Ph.D., Rector of Holy Cross Church, New York; Rev. D. J. Stafford, D.D., Rector of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Drs. Grannan, Shahan, Pace, Shanahan, Creagh, Hyvernat, Griffin, Bolling, Neil and Egan, of the University.

LECTURE BY MR. WILLIAM YEATS.

Mr. William Butler Yeats, poet, dramatist and orator, delivered a lecture on "The Intellectual Revival in Ireland," February 21, at 8 P. M., in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall, to a very large and appreciative audience of University students and invited guests. Mr. Yeats, although but thirty-six years old, is looked upon by Ireland as one of her stanchest patriots and one of her most convincing and persistent exponents of patriotism. He came to America at the request of the Irish National Society for the purpose of telling Irishmen in America of the progress of the national movement and the re-creation of the Ireland of ante-famine days through poetry and dramas written in the Irish tongue. His talk was of absorbing interest because of the unique idea of accomplishing national independence, not by force of arms nor radical politics, but by the gradual weaning of Irishmen from English customs and the English tongue. The folk lore of the early part of the nineteenth century is being revived, said the speaker, and every time the old Gaelic songs are sung the power of England is weakened.

Mr. Yeats is the son of Mr. J. B. Yeats, for many years a celebrated artist of Dublin and London. The son studied art for awhile, but deserted the brush for poetry, and has written several volumes of poems which are popular wherever there is left an ember of Irish patriotism. His most effective work, however, has been done in the founding of the Irish Independent Theater, in Dublin, where the true Irish folk-lore is portrayed, and by means of which Mr. Yeats and his co-workers hope to re-create the land of Erin. He will return to Ireland March 2. He was introduced last evening by Dr. Shahan of the Catholic University.

"To begin with," said Mr. Yeats, "I can tell you something which I know will be welcome to all Irish ears on this side of the Atlantic. Notwithstanding our respective geographical positions, America is much nearer to Ireland than is England. I have gone into the country districts and found the peasants reading American news-

papers and commenting in their own simple manner on American affairs. I know that these peasants have never seen an English newspaper, and some of them have not even read a Dublin paper. Their friends and relatives go to America and send back these souvenirs, which are mighty factors in Irish sentiment. Before that dreadful famine of a half century ago there existed the Ireland of wit; the Ireland of humor; and to-day there are many patriots in and out of Ireland who make themselves believe those old conditions still exist. It is not so. Our politics are different, but the greatest deterioration is to be noted in our literature.

"Following the famine came the invasion of English industries. We imagined we ought to wear English clothes, abide by English fashions and speak the English tongue. The power of imagination in material things is greater than most men are willing to give it credit for. With the adoption of English clothes came the adoption of English thought and the English alphabet. Old Irish customs and those who spoke the Gaelic tongue became objects of ridicule. We sent to England for shoddy cloth instead of wearing better material of home manufacture. We sent to Munich for the worst stained glass the world has ever seen. We got everything, our religion, our thought, the essence of our very life, from England. The worm has turned, and the reaction, begun about ten years ago, is now in the full bloom of prosperity. I may not live to see that ultimate success, but success is inevitable.

"Through the establishment of our theater our Gaelic drama and our Gaelic folk lore, we have compelled a sentiment looking toward a complete recreation of the land of Erin. Old men and old tales are honored again, and the hills and the valleys are echoing once more with the sweet music of the Gaelic tongue. This battle on intellectual issues is the life of the people. The literary revival movement is supported by that proudest aristocrary of the earth, the aristocracy of artists, the only aristocracy which has never opposed the people, and against which the people have never risen. The folk-lore poems of Dr. Douglass Hyde have attained a wide popularity in the country towns and among the common classes. The country Ireland, which is most Irish, is winning over the urban Ireland, which is least Irish, and the time is coming when the English tongue will have been expurgated. Long-silent mills are humming again. We have our own stained glass factories and manufacture a product mediæval and traditional in character and better than anything that ever came from Munich. We are accomplishing this, not by display of arms, but by undermining Irish dependence upon England through the

Gaelic drama and the simple tuneful verses which describe old Irish life.

"I am one of those few men who look to printed books for no great things. The common people will never get culture out of printed books. They must be reached by poetry and song that can be rehearsed at work and at play; something the plowman can sing as he follows his plow, or that the housewife can sing as she sews or drives her spinning wheel. Lionel Johnson, a man of great intellect, whose poetry and prose rank with the most learned literature in the world, is, after all, only a printed book poet. His poems cannot be sung by the common people, and consequently they cannot effect the culture.

"Lionel Johnson is a noble Irish patriot, but he will never rank with Dr. Hyde, because the latter poet talks to the common people in simple Irish folk lore. Dr. Hyde inspires in the heart and soul that passionate feeling which is the mother of subtlety, and subtlety is mother to the arts. Where there is art there is culture, and where there is culture there is victory. Thomas Davis was another of the great Irish patriot-poets whose verse is heard to-day in the meadows and the farmyards, and whose name is revered by every Irish countryman. These men are all dramatists, whose plays are calculated to educate and cultivate the common people. As an example of the enthusiasm inspired by this intellectual revival, I cite the case of Father Peter O'Leary, a parish priest, who, at the age of seventy turned playwright, and even attends his own productions. He has written many folk-lore plays, which are doing great good in the rural districts of Ireland. Another well-known priest and playwright is Father Dineen, who has met with great success with his miracle plays. No country can prosper unless its intellect be occupied with itself, and this is what we are striving to accomplish. The literary movement is powerful, the people are in sympathy, and I hope we will all live to see the day when Irish will again be spoken in Ireland, to the exclusion of all other tongues. The Gaelic language will be a barrier to the vulgarity and coarseness which are to-day the plague of Ireland."

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees.—The Board of Trustees of the University held a special meeting on Wednesday, Jan. 28.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Theology was celebrated on January 28. The High Mass was sung by Right Rev. Bishop Van de Vyver of Richmond. Rev. John W. Mackey, Ph.D., Rector of the Cathedral of St. Peter, Cincinnati, preached the sermon.

Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy was celebrated on Monday, March 7. The High Mass was sung by V. Rev. Dr. O'Hara, of Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. The sermon was preached by Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D., Rector of St. Agnes Church, New York.

Annual Retreat for Students.—The annual retreat for the students of the University was given February 17–21 by Right Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, D.D., Bishop of Sioux City, Ia.

American Association of Universities.—This Association held its annual meeting at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., February 18, 19 and 20. The Catholic University was represented by Dr. George Melville Bolling, Associate Professor of Greek.

Conference of Catholic Colleges.—A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Conference of Catholic Colleges took place at the University, Thursday, March 8. There were present Rev. Louis S. Walsh, of Boston, Mass., and Rev. F. W. Howard, of Columbus, Ohio, representing the Conference of Catholic Schools.

Hodgkins Fund Appropriation to Dr. Albert Zahm.—Dr. Albert Zahm acknowledges with deep gratitude to Dr. S. P. Langley, and the Smithsonian Institution, an appropriation of five hundred dollars, from the Hodgkins Fund, "for experiments upon the laws of atmospheric resistance to moving bodies."

Discourses and Papers by Professors.—Rev. Dr. Pace delivered a discourse on Thursday, March 24, at the Catholic Club, New York City, on the occasion of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the International Catholic Truth Society. Dr. Pace also read a paper on "The Philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas," Tuesday, March 29, before the Washington Society for Philosophical Inquiry.—Dr. Albert Zahm read a paper on "Atmospheric Friction, with special Reference to Aeronautics," before the Philosophical Society of Washington, on February 27, 1904.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. X. *July, 1904.* *No. 3.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
LANCASTER, PA., AND WASHINGTON, D. C.

Press of
he New Era Printing Company.
Lancaster, Pa.

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. X. *July, 1904.* *No. 3.*

IRISH MONKS ON THE CONTINENT.

There is an abundance of evidence to be found in document ranging from the fifth and sixth centuries downward which, if collected, would throw light upon the great work accomplished by the Irish monks who sojourned on the Continent in the early Middle Ages. They were remarkable men in many respects, active and versatile, intensely pious and imbued with true missionary zeal; they built churches and monasteries, but they built schools as well; they labored at the solution of the problems, secular and religious, of their day, and left some records of their labors in writing. The merest sketch of their many labors can be attempted in the present article which is devoted chiefly to the illustration of an apothegm of *Der Trompeter von Säkkingen,* "Keltisch Blut treibt in die Ferne," namely that inborn roving propensity which was so remarkable that it was a common expression in the ninth century that travelling and going on pilgrimages had become second nature to the Irishman.[1] He was the greatest traveller of the Middle Ages and most frequently in bands of the apostolic number of twelve they pilgrimed from one celebrated shrine or cloister to another. They were easily recognized by the cloak they wore, their long pilgrim's staff, their painted eyelids, and the leathern pouch with flasks and tablets which they carried on their back. Their number seems to have

[1] "Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam paene in naturam conversa." Walafrid Strabo, Mon. Germ. Hist., II, 30.

been greatest in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and they were to be met with in the most remote places. In Bulgaria, Frederick Barbarossa on his crusade came upon a cloister presided over by an Irish abbot, and in the Bollandists for February 2 (I. 366), may be read the story of a certain Mauricius who belonged to the Irish monastery at Ratisbon. This Mauricius, the chronicler says, was very clever and always thinking of something new, and once, accompanied by a boy, he braved the perils of the trackless world, *devia mundi,* and reached the court of the King of Russia; there he was presented with rich gifts and valuable furs from the proceeds of which on his return the cloister was roofed. In the early part of the thirteenth century no less than twelve monasteries in Germany, founded, and some occupied exclusively, by Irishmen, were to some extent subject to the Abbot of Ratisbon, and in the life of the Irishman Marianus we are told that many of his countrymen, when they had heard how he had dedicated all his boyhood and manhood to God, leaving behind friends and riches, renounced the world and its wickedness for everlasting life, and with happy mind followed Christ over land and sea and the man of God, Marianus.[1] But many more examples might be quoted of the *Hibernici exules,* the *veterani* and *paupers et pegrini gentis Scotorum,* who came in such numbers that a writer in the latter half of the ninth century says that it seemed as if all Ireland with a host of philosophers, scorning the dangers of the sea, had migrated to the mainland.[2] Many of these Hibernian exiles never returned to their native land; some returned but for a while and brought back with them to their newly founded homes their greatest treasures, books. They lived as hermits or founded monasteries in the countries now known as France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. Only a few of the best known of these Irish monks and only a few of their most celebrated settlements on the Continent can be told of here. For one name or work whose

[1] "Multi ex concivibus suis, qui pueritiam juventutemque ejusdem Deo per omnia dicatam noverant, derelictis rebus carisque propinquis, caduca prae aeternis hilari mente abjicientes per tot maria, perque tot invia regna, Christum virumque Dei Marianum sunt secuti." Acta SS., February 2 (I, 368).

[2] "Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam cum grege philosophorum ad littora nostra migrantem?" Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Litt. des Mittelalters,* II, 118, 287.

memory remains how many hundreds must have perished without leaving a trace!

I. Saint Columbanus of Bobbio.

From Piacenza in the province of Pavia it is a good day's journey to Bobbio and back. The hotel-porter waked me at five, and, candle in hand, led the way through the stone corridors and down the winding stairs to the entrance where, with a ridiculously large key, he opened a panel in the lower corner of the courtyard-door just large enough for me to crawl out by. The train was due at the city gate at six, but it had first to cross the town and there was time to try the coffee which an old Italian was boiling on an open fire. The time was the end of March, the sun was rising and the trees and shrubs on the level stretch of land were just beginning to bud and sprout. The three rickety timeworn cars clattered and bounded over the badly laid rails on the side of the highway, and the engineer, who seemed bent on making as much noise as possible, blew the whistle a mile before a village was reached or a road crossed. But everyone seemed to be awake and astir already. It happened to be one of those festivals that the people still observe, although the Church no longer obliges them to do so. The fields and farms were deserted but the road was crowded with country people streaming toward the town, most on foot but many in two-wheeled carts drawn by asses.

Carriages were changed at Cassano, and at Rivergaro we found the *vettura* which was to bring us on to Bobbio. The goods were piled on the roof while the half dozen passengers found places within on the open benches. The driver, a big, strapping fellow cracked his long whip sharp and loud and often, called the three burly horses by pretty diminutives and urged them on to a kind of recitative. We were now booked for our four hours' ride to Bobbio. The road lies over a low ridge of the Apennines between Milan and Genoa and winds along the course of the Trebbia, the valley of which is memorable as the site of Hannibal's winter quarters, before his victory over the Romans, where his force suffered great losses in men, horses, elephants and equipment. The river's bed is very wide but only a narrow strip of its white stony bottom is now

covered with water. At every hamlet a halt was made to take and deliver mails, for our *diligenza* was the mail coach as well, and as it rolled through the single street of a village inhabitants followed it to the general store which served as postoffice. At last Bobbio came in sight perched on the side of a hill not far from where the river from which it takes its name meets the Trebbia. The town is kept from sliding down into the river by a high circumvallation. It overlooks the boisterous river, spanned by the bold arches of a long stone bridge. Here women were washing linen and placing the sheets to bleach on the even whiter stones. The town is "non ignobile ædificatum," to quote an ancient historian of the place, and no doubt had its beginnings in the places of shelter built by the early monks for the use of the mountaineers. The houses have flat or low-pitched roofs and are all of stone covered with a white stucco that glares in the rays of the sun. Among them the tower of St. Columbanus' stands out prominently. After the horses had brought us with a final spurt and clatter of hoofs through the main street and had pulled up in the midst of the waiting Bobbiensi, "the children of St. Columbanus," as they are proud to call themselves, we were glad to alight and at once apply ourselves to the study of the old church and the remains of the monastery.

The life and works of Columbanus, one of the most remarkable figures of the Middle Ages, have been the subjects of many and eloquent writers, notably of Montalembert in his "Les Moines d'Occident," so that only a few words need be said to recall his part in the great exodus of Irish missionaries and scholars which began, so far as we know, with Columbanus and his companions. Of all the Scotti who came to the Continent, Columbanus is undoubtedly the most celebrated. He is the only one about whom many records have come down to us and the first one of whom anything certain can be told: "Issi d'une ille de mer qui est apelée Illande sains Columbins,"[1] who was also called Columba, was born in the year 542 in "that island whose favored conditions, numerous tribes and freedom from wars have been the theme of many writers." Jonas, our chief authority and almost a contemporary of

[1] "Chroniques de saint Denis."

Columbanus, begins his life of the Saint with the above words. "The island," he continues, "the Scotti inhabit, a people, although far removed from the laws and customs of the rest of the world, surpassing all their neighbors in their strong and lively Christian faith."[1] We shall pass over the early period of Columbanus' life devoted to preparation for his mission and to studies at the famous school at Bangor. It was about the year 590 that he, with twelve companions, among them Gallus, whom we shall have to speak of later as the Apostle of Alemannia, reached the land of the Franks where he spent half of his lifetime in the work of teaching the Franks and Gallo-Romans, reforming the depraved Merovingians, raising the degenerate church, founding monasteries which became centers of civilization and culture, and instructing those who were to carry on the work after him. Persecuted and driven from place to place by those whom his censure had offended, and compelled to abandon the scene of so many years of labor he was finally driven to the coast and to seek his home. But the boat which was to take him to the ship was providentially beaten back by a storm. Then began his travels along the upper Rhine, where he preached among the almost heathen people of what is now northern and eastern Switzerland, stopping for awhile at the few scattered Christian settlements along the way and leaving behind him here and there disciples to found cloisters and settlements in the heart of the wild country and its savage inhabitants. He lived by the lake of Zurich and reached the shores of Lake Constance, where he remained for some time, especially at Bregenz at the eastern end of the lake. There he was seized with the desire to carry the Gospel among the Slavs, but was deterred by a vision. It was then he determined to go to Italy and probably with Attala, who became his successor in Italy and second abbot of Bobbio, for his sole companion. In the year 612, in the sixty-ninth or seventieth year of his age, but with strength unbroken and courage undaunted, he started on foot through upper Rhætia

[1] "Columbanus igitur qui et Columba dicitur ortus est ex Hibernia insula in extremo Oceani sita cujus insulæ situs, ut ferunt, amœnus ac diversarum capax nationum, ceterorum caret bellis populorum. Hanc Scottorum gens incolit, gens quamquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fide præpollet." (In Mabillon Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. Sæc. II.)

and over the Alps upon a journey of several hundred miles, which at that time must have been one of the greatest difficulty and danger. The lines in Frodoardus' metrical life of Columbanus in reference to this marvellous journey deserve to be quoted: "Then Columbanus with the wings and spirit of a *dove,* seeking a supernal realm, flies over the Gallic Alps, and lighting on the Ausonian land is received with honor by King Agilulfus."[3]

This Agilulfus was the Lombard king at Milan, and was most desirous of having Columbanus within his domain. A certain favorite of the king's suggested the neighborhood of Bobbio as well suited for such a settlement as Columbanus wished to establish. He described it as a vast solitude among the ridges of the Apennines, the land extremely fertile, well watered and the rivers abounding in fish. Columbanus accepted the offer which the king sanctioned by a grant of land four miles round about the ruins of an ancient church which was found there and which had been dedicated to St. Peter. His first task was the rebuilding of the church and the building of a small wooden chapel and a cloister for those who gathered around him. In spite of his advanced age (he died the.23d of November, 615) he took part in all the work of improving the land and constructing the buildings, and before long this last of Columbanus' foundations had struck a firm root.[4]

Several epochs in the long history of the church have left their traces in the structure, style and ornamentation of the buildings. Toward the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth the Benedictines renovated the church and the monastery on a grand scale, and these remain with few changes to the present day. The exterior of the church is very plain, but not unattractive. It is low and broad, built of brick above and plastered below, with rectangular

---

1 "Ergo Columbanus pennis animisque columbæ
Regna superna petens, Gallorum transvolat Alpes
Ausoniam ingrediens, Agilulfo rege decenter
Excipitur."

2 "At Pater ipse Columbanus dum clauditur annus,
Mandatis nova septa colit cellæ Ebobiensis.
Nexibus hinc animam carnis tenebrisque solutam
Almifico cœlis infert splendore decoram.
Pignora restructi per eum Templi æde locantur.
Quam celsæ meritum vitæ data signa loquuntur:
Strenuitatem animi præstans doctrina profatur." (Ibid.)

windows, and is set off by a fine row of columns of medium height at the entrance. Under the roof-tree is a statue of the patron of the church and of the diocese and city of Bobbio. The interior is, of course, adorned in the Italian style, and contains some mural paintings, also paintings on wood and a choir with carved stalls, all of which are worth seeing. Especially worthy of attention is a painting on the wall in front of and over the high altar representing Pope Gregory promulgating the Gregorian chant. A little below the level of the lower church are parts of a wall a few feet square made of rough stone or rubble incased in mortar; this is probably all that remains of the original foundation; it is at one corner of the crypt and it is possible to make out the beginnings of a tower or arch. The exterior creates a similar impression; the oldest wall is a score of feet high. It is pierced with narrow lancet windows. It is possible that the present church is slightly removed from the site of the oldest erection, or else that this wall was part of a bell tower at a little distance from the church. The cloister is obviously of later date and its spacious halls are now occupied by the municipal offices and school rooms except that part which is allotted to the parish priest. The buildings are of the conventional cloister type; the pillars of the colonnade are of the sandstone of the country, with the exception of two which are of the same shape as the other, but, strangely enough, hewn out of granite; how the granite was obtained is a mystery, since none is to be found within a very great distance. The old walls swarm with lizards which sun themselves on the warm stones and disappear like a flash when a step is heard on the cold pavement of the corridor. There are other remains of the olden times: a well bisected by the garden wall, so that it is half within and half without the precincts of the monastery. It is only a few yards from the rear wall of the sacristy, and undoubtedly dates from the time of the earliest settlers. An hour's walk distant from the monastery are two caves, one to the north, the other to the east, the so-called *grotta* and *letto di S. Colombano,* where tradition says he was accustomed to retire for meditation and prayer.

In the lower sacristy, which the people call *scurolo,* are kept

the many priceless treasures of the church. Of those relating to its oldest history and Irish founders the relics of St. Columbanus deserve first attention. The head of the Saint is enclosed in a bust of silver representing Columbanus. His body is preserved on the high altar in a richly sculptured marble casket with the inscription: *S. Columbanus Hiberniensis . . . animo nunc cœlo corpore hic requiescit.* The basso-relievos represent Columbanus at the feet of Gregory the Great, who is in the act of presenting him with a large stone jar. This jar, which is still to be seen in the Church, was given to Columbanus by the Pope on the occasion of his visit to Rome in the year 599, and is said to be one of the six *hydriæ* told of in the Gospel where, at the marriage feast in Cana, the miracle of the conversion of water into wine was wrought. Other relics, which, according to the ancient tradition, are believed to have belonged to the Saint, are the lower part of a small bowl or drinking cup, once provided with a cover which is now missing, and the miraculous *coltello di S. Columbano.* A very ancient set of small bells is also shown; they were fastened on a strip of wood and were to be shaken in the hand all together. There were originally five bells on the strip, but only three are left and their combination is not inharmonious; it is likely that they were used to call the monks together in the cloister, church or field, for we find mention in the chronicles of the time of the use of small bells for that purpose.

No likeness of Columbanus has come down to us; according to Jonas he was of slight stature. The paintings in the church are of comparatively recent date, and several of them represent episodes in the life of the founder, as the story of his destroying the huge caldron of beer which the pagans were about to offer up to their god Wotan. Columbanus blew strongly on the rim of the vessel, so that it toppled over and fell in pieces. The subject of another legend depicted in the church is that of his commanding a bear, which had killed one of a team of oxen, to be fastened to the yoke and ever afterward to take the place of the ox he had killed.

It would not be easy to measure the work which St. Columbanus accomplished as missionary, reformer, founder and legislator of a monastic order and teacher. He was a man of

indomitable energy, sincere piety and extraordinary holiness, but sometimes impatient and vehement, a combination that is not uncommon, in a minor degree, among his countrymen. Wherever he and his companions went among the Franks, the Suevi, Alemanni, Lombards or Italians and laid out a monastery or made a settlement, he assumed that that place became a new Ireland: "We are here in Ireland," he wrote with pride from France to Pope Boniface, "and we borrow nothing from the rules of these Gauls. At peace in our deserts we trouble no one and live according to the rules of our teachers." It is not within the province or ability of the present writer to discuss the strengh and weakness of the rule instituted by St. Columbanus and the reasons for its absorption by the more practical and less severe, but not more brilliant, order of St. Benedict. "Colomban avait plus de cet élan qui entraîne pour un jour ou une vie d'homme que de cette profondeur du génie qui crée pour les siècles" (Montalembert).

One of the greatest services for which we must ever be grateful to St. Columbanus and his companions and followers was their cultivation of letters and the interest they took in books. Columbanus himself had received the best possible education of the time, and, like many of the educated Irish of the day, most likely knew Greek, and possibly even Hebrew, not to speak of Irish and Latin; we are fortunate in having several of the sermons, letters and instructions which he wrote on dogmatic and moral subjects for the guidance of his order; these show that he possessed an extraordinary insight into the spiritual life, that he was deeply learned in theology and sacred and profane literature and a writer of great power. His prose is somewhat stiff and labored, but nevertheless simple and always animated by a natural eloquence which is often embellished by similes taken from nature or from his long and unexampled experience and travels. Occasionally, however, as in his letter to Pope Boniface, we find such writing as: *papæ prædulci, præcelso præsuli, pastorum pastori,* which to be sure, is not uncommon in the Latin style of the time and especially in Irish literature, where alliteration is so frequent in prose as well as in verse; or such word-play as, for example, in the same remarkable letter: *Vigila, papa, vigila, et iterum*

dico vigila quia forte non bene vigilavit Vigilius. But one does not find in the literature of the period many finer passages than the often quoted lines from the fifth "Instruction" to his disciples under the heading: *Quod præsens vita non sit dicenda vita, sed via—O tu vita, quantos decepisti, quantos seduxisti, quantos excæcasti! Quæ dum fugis nihil es, dum videris umbra es, dum exaltaris fumus es, quæ cotidie fugis et cotidie venis, veniendo fugis quæ fugiendo venis, dissimilis eventu, similis ortu, dissimilis luxu, similis fluxu, dulcis stultis amara sapientibus. Qui te amant non te sciunt et qui te contemnunt ipsi te intelligunt. . . . Quid ergo es humana vita? Via es mortalium, et non vita; . . . Via ergo es ad vitam et non vita: vera enim non es: via, sed non plana, aliis longa, aliis brevis, aliis lata, aliis angusta, aliis læta, aliis tristis, omnibus similiter festinans et irrevocabilis. . . . Interroganda ergo es et non credenda nec vindicanda; transeunda non habitanda, misera humana vita: nullus enim in via habitat sed ambulat; ut qui ambulant in via habitent in patria.*

In the time he could spare during his busy life he wrote many poems on religious themes. Only a few extracts from the extant poems can be given here; for example, the curious acrostic consisting of monostichs: *Columbanus Hunaldo:*

*C*asibus innumeris decurrunt tempora vitæ.
*O*mnia prætereunt, menses volvuntur et anni.
*L*abitur in senium momentis omnibus ætas.
*U*t tibi perpetuam liceat comprehendere vitam,
*M*olles illecebras vitæ nunc sperne caducæ.
*B*landa luxuria virtus superatur honesta.
*A*rdet avaritia cæcaque cupidine pectus.
*N*escit habere modum vanis mens dedita curis.

[1] "O Life, how many hast thou deceived, how many hast thou led astray, how many hast thou blinded! Thou fliest and art nothing, while we see thee we see but a phantom, thou risest but art a cloud of smoke; each day thou comest and each day goest, coming thou art fleeing, fleeing thou art coming, the same to all at first, how similar in thy origin, how diverse in thy ending, but ever ever fleeing, a sweet thing to the fool but a bitter thing to the wise. They who love thee do not know thee, they alone know thee who despise thee. What art thou then mortal life? Thou art the road to life but not life, for thou art unreal: an uneven way, long to some, short to others, to some wide, to others narrow, bringing joy to some, pain to others but to all transitory and irrevocable. Thou art indeed to be questioned but not believed, poor human life, to be passed over but not possessed for no one dwells on a road but travels it. May they who travel over the road of life abide in the eternal home!"

*V*ilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
*S*umma quies, nil velle supra quam postulat usus.
*H*os ego versiculos misi tibi sæpe legendos:
*U*t mea dicta tuis admittas auribus, oro.
*N*ec te decipiat vana et peritura voluptas.
*A*spice quam brevis est procerum regumque potestas.
*L*ubrica mortalis cito transit gloria vitæ.
*D*a veniam dictis: fuimus fortasse loquaces.
*O*mne quod est nimium semper vitare memento.[1]

or, from the same epistle, the description of old age, likewise in hexameters:

Multa senem fragilis vexant incommoda carnis:
Nam macie turpi tabescunt languida membra.
Tunc genuum junctura riget, venasque per omnes
Illius in toto frigescit corpore sanguis.
Sic baculo nitens artus sustentat inertes.
Quid tristes memorem gemitus? quid tædia mentis?
Somnus abest oculis; illum sonus excitat omnis.
Quid tunc argenti fulvi quid proderit auri
Improba congeries multos collecta per annos?
Munera quid procerum? ditis quid prandia mensæ?
Quid meminisse juvat transactæ gaudia vitæ
Venerit extremi tandem cum terminus ævi?

—"multaque alia quæ vel ad cantum digna vel ad docendum utilia condidit dicta" (Jonas) but only one more selection may be given if only to show the many reminiscences of the classical poets it contains. He alludes to the Argonauts, the judgment of Paris, the golden rain of Danae and the necklace of Amphiaraus. It is from an epistle in Adonic verse, "in which," he says, "Sappho, the renowned poetess, was wont to sing her sweet songs," to his friend Fedolius and, as is seen from the

[1] "The path of life is one of countless dangers—Everything passes away, the days, the months, the years—Every moment brings us nearer old age and death—If thou wouldst know everlasting life thou must now spurn the soft allurements of this frail existence—Honest worth is oft outdone by honey-tongued riches—Avarice and blind greed inflame the breast—The heart bent on vanities is never satisfied—Silver is worth less than gold and gold than virtue—The greatest peace: to desire no more than need requires—I send these poor lines for thee to read them again and again and pray thee to give them heed—May vain and crumbling pleasures not deceive thee—See how fleeting is the power of kings, how transient the shifting glory of this mortal life—Pardon these reflections; I have perhaps said too much—Be ever mindful of avoiding excess in everything." (Bibl. ss. vet. Patr., XII, 357.)

close of the poem, was written when Columbanus was seventy-two years old:

Sæpe nefanda
Crimina multis
Suggerit auri
Dira cupido;
E quibus ista
Nunc tibi pauca
Tempore prisco
Gesta retexam.
Extitit ingens
Causa malorum
Aurea pellis.
Corruit auri
Munere parvo
Cœna deorum
Ac tribus illis
Maxima lis est
Orta deabus.
Hinc populavit
Trojagenarum
Ditia regna
Dorica pubes.
Juraque legum
Fasque fidesque
Rumpitur auro.
Impia quippe
Pygmalionis
Regis ob aurum
Gesta leguntur.
Sic Polydorum
Hospes avarus
Incitus auro
Fraude necavit.
Femina sæpe
Perdit ob aurum
Casta pudorem.

Non Jovis auri
Fluxit in imbre;
Sed quod adulter
Obtulit aurum,
Aureus ille
Fingitur imber.
Amphiaraum
Prodidit auro
Perfida conjunx.
Hectoris heros
Vendidit auro
Corpus Achilles.
Et reserari
Munere certo
Nigra feruntur
Limina Ditis.
Nunc ego possem
Plura referre
Ni brevitatis
Causa vetaret . . .
. . . . .
Si tibi cura
Forte volenti
Carmina tali
Condere versu,
Semper ut unus
Ordine certo
Dactylus istic
Incipiat pes.
Inde sequenti
Parte trochaeus
Proximus illi
Rite locetur.
Sæpe duabus
Claudere longis
Ultima versus
Jure licebit
. . . . .

Hæc tibi dictaram morbis oppressus acerbis,
Corpore quos fragili patior, tristique senecta.

Nam dum præcipiti labuntur tempora cursu
Nunc ad Olympiadis ter senæ venimus annos.
Omnia prætereunt, fugit irreparabile tempus.
Vive, vale lætus, tristisque memento senectæ[1]

Nothing now remains in Bobbio of the superb library, one of the most celebrated of the Middle Ages, which these Irish scholars founded, and in which the works of the church fathers and of the ancients, Greek as well as Latin, were multiplied and in some cases saved from destruction. For example, the palimpsest containing Cicero's *De Republica* was found in the Bobbian library. A catalogue of the library in the tenth century, and probably incomplete, contained 700 volumes, including Horace, Vergil, Ovid, Juvenal, Martial, Persius, Terence, Cicero, Demosthenes and Aristotle. Some finely executed antiphonaries and missals with beautiful, colored miniatures and initials which are often copied are shown but they are of a comparatively recent date. The ancient codices are scattered in the different libraries of Europe, at Milan, Turin, Rome, Naples and Vienna. Of all the manuscripts which can be traced to the monks of Bobbio the most interesting from the point of view of the mother tongue of the founder of the library and his immediate successors is undoubtedly the so-called Milan Codex, which was brought to Milan by Cardinal Borromeo when he founded the Ambrosian Library. It consists of 150 sheets of deep yellow, heavy vellum perforated and frayed in many places and the outer edges water-stained. The Irish hand is heavy throughout, and there is very little

[1] "The accursed desire for gold has often been the occasion of the basest crimes. I will now recite for thee a few of the many we read of in ancient times. The Golden Fleece was the cause of great evils and for the sake of a trifling reward of gold the banquet of the gods was spoiled and strife arose among three great goddesses so that the Dorian troops laid waste the rich realms of the men of Troy. Laws and justice and right are broken by gold. We have read of King Pygmalion and his wicked deeds for the sake of gold and of the greedy host who was incited by gold to deceive and murder Polydorus. Gold has often brought about the ruin of a virtuous woman. It is not that Jupiter came in a rain of gold but because he offered gold that the fable arose. Amphiaraus was betrayed for gold by his unfaithful wife. The victor Achilles sold Hector's body for gold and the black gates of Pluto are said to open for a fixed price. Many more instances I could tell but the need of brevity prevents—Shouldst thou choose to cast thy song in this meter the measure must begin with a dactyl which is followed by a trochee—As I write these lines I am tortured with the pains of my weak and age-bent body for, in the headlong course of time, I am approaching the eighteenth Olympiad of my life. Everything passes away and the days fly never to return. Farewell, be strong and happy and think of the bitterness of a dismal old age." (Bibl. vet. patr., XII, 360.)

artistic figuring or attempt at ornament; the ink, after eleven centuries, is quite black except in a few pages where it is deep brown. The manuscript contains a commentary on the Psalms, which many scholars have attributed to Columbanus himself, and two short Irish poems only partly intelligible, but its chief value lies in the glosses in Irish to the commentary which are so abundant that these Milan glosses constitute the most copious storehouse of the ancient language of Ireland; it was first edited by Ascoli, the greatest of Italian glottologists and Celtists.

The return of the *vettura* to Piacenza was not so peaceful as the outward journey. It happened to be the last day of the levy and the *vettura,* which in honor of the occasion was decked out with the tricolors of Italy, was in the possession of a score or more conscripts off to join the army. Poor wretches! All were of about the same age and all wore felt hats cocked into every conceivable shape and gaudy silk handkerchiefs tied around the neck, and had their pockets stuffed with loaves of bread or with hazelnuts on a string. They were all quite intoxicated, and as we spun along the road overlooking the Trebbia they made the hills resound with their wild shouts and songs.

II. Saint Gall and His Monastery.

The life of Saint Gall is inseparably connected with that of his great master in whose band he had left Ireland and whose dearest disciple and companion he was up to the time that Columbanus set out for Italy. Gallus was a few years younger than Columbanus and is not so predominating or majestic a figure as is the founder of Bobbio. We shall pass over the events of his life until we find him and his companions on the shores of the Bodensee. There, at Constance and Arbon, they found that workers had already settled, so the new comers pushed on to the eastern end of the lake where they were told was a place meeting all their wants, and made a settlement at Bregenz. After a short sojourn the two holy men who had shared friendship and suffering so many years separated for this life. On that day Gallus was sick with fever and unable to accompany his master to Italy; the impetuous Columbanus, how-

ever, unwilling to leave his disciple behind and perhaps not persuaded that it was illness alone which prevented Gallus from accompanying him, but also the love he had for the place and for the people to whom he preached, declared that if Gallus would no longer take part in the labor and travel he would forbid him to say mass until he should hear of Columbanus' death. Thus Gallus was left behind to spread the Christian faith in eastern Switzerland and when he had recovered his strength he plunged into the unknown districts south toward the heaven-reaching Säntis and the wild valley of the Steinach. There, in the primeval forest (for he loved the air of the woods, *avidus silvarum,* says his biographer) in the next year he built his cell and chapel which at first could not have been more than simple wooden huts, and so established the place which ever since has borne his name. Little by little the whole neighborhood took on a more friendly aspect, thanks chiefly to Gallus' knowledge of German by which he was enabled to spread his teachings among the common people in Helvetia.[1]

Gallus lived to be over ninety years of age. So obedient was he to the harsh command of Columbanus that he would not allow himself to be appointed to the see of Constance. But the night on which Columbanus died in his cell far away in the Apennines Gallus was informed of his death in a vision and at once called the brothers to prayer; the next day he celebrated his first mass in some years in memory of his beloved master, the blessed Columbanus. A deacon was straitway despatched to Bobbio and in due time returned with the assurance that Columbanus died at the very hour the vision appeared to Gallus.

The ninth and tenth centuries were the flourishing period of the St. Gall convent but it had been preëminent in the sciences and arts above all other monasteries for a century before, when many learned Irish monks lived there. A touching story told by Ekkehard of the Irish bishop Marcellus and his nephew Moengal deserves to be told again as an instance of what, as is likely enough, was not an uncommon occurrence at the St. Gall cloister. The two had made a pilgrimage to Rome,

[1] Quia ipse hanc a Domino gratiam meruit ut non solum latinae sed etiam barbaricae locutionis cognitionem non parvam haberet." Walafrid Strabo, loc. cit.

as was the custom with their countrymen (*gentis suae more*) and on the way back visited the monastery which had been founded by their compatriot, where they were prevailed on to stay. The day on which their comrades were to resume the homeward journey Moengal threw his uncle's money out the window, so that there would be no temptation on that score, and the bishop, who it seems was very rich, gave his horses and mules to his companions who were leaving, but the books, the gold and the pallia he kept for himself and for the monastery; then, wearing the stole, he blessed them. There was much weeping on the part of those who were leaving for home and of the bishop and his nephew and a few other Irish-speaking monks who were to remain at St. Gall.[1]

This Moengal, whom the monks afterwards called by his uncle's name, Marcellus, was very learned in sacred and profane lore and especially distinguished in the art of music. St. Gall was the foremost singing-school in Europe and scarcely another monastery was so celebrated for the study of Greek and art and the beauty of its manuscripts. The chief task of many of its monks was the copying of books; some had the reputation of being fine writers, others were famous as illuminators and still others, less skilled or less advanced in the art, ruled the lines or prepared the parchment. The St. Gall library possesses several manuscripts richly illuminated with the symmetrical ornamentation which is characteristic of the Celtic style, the brilliancy and beauty of whose colors is still almost unimpaired. It is hardly necessary to mention the celebrated *Psalterium aureum* and the *Evangelium longum* in golden letters.

At the end of the ninth century the cloister library contained several hundred volumes, an eloquent testimony to the industry and love of learning of the Irish monks. These books were on all subjects, not only on the Bible and the church fathers, legends and lives of saints, liturgical books and homilies and rules of religious orders, but also collections of laws and councils, poetry in the ancient tongues and in the vernacular grammar and writings on medicine and astronomy.

[1] Ekkehardus IV in Casibus S. Galli. (M. G. H., II, 78.)

One page of a catalogue of the library at the beginning of the ninth century is occupied with a list of *30 libri scottice,* thirty books written in Irish, and of these perhaps not a single one now exists. Not mentioned in the catalogue, but the most valuable possession of the library from the point of view of Celtic linguistic history, is a manuscript labelled *Institutio Prisciani de arte incipit grammatica* with glosses in Irish thereto, for it is the oldest important monument and at the same time one of the richest sources of Celtic grammar. It dates from the middle of the ninth century and is consequently about coeval with the *Serment de Strassburg,* the oldest document of the French language. The codex is incomplete at the end; the parchment is stout and of a light yellow color; it is badly spotted here and there and has many *lacunæ,* some of which have been filled up by patches skillfully sewn to the sheet with horse-hair, not, as was more usual for the purpose, with silk thread. Four or more hands can be distinguished in the text and glosses; the writing abounds in abbreviations and some later additions; a half dozen in all on the top margin of as many pages, are in the *ogam* character. Where the book was made is not known nor, if written in Ireland, as is thought most probable and one of the books that could be spared from some rich library at home, is it known when or by whom it was brought to St. Gall. Another MS. in the St. Gall library of about the same age as the Priscian codex is worthy of mention in connection with it for it contains some two dozen lines of incantations in Irish. The so-called *Vocabularium S. Galli* is extremely interesting as one of the oldest specimens of Romance and German speech and because it was, probably, the vade-mecum of an Irish monk in his work of civilization among the Franks or Alemanni; it is a little pocket-dictionary in which he jotted down in the everyday Latin of the time the most necessary constantly recurring words and translated them in the opposite column into the corresponding German equivalents.

These and other priceless treasures of St. Gall are housed in the exquisite *Stiftsbibliothek.* During the ravages of time, fire, pest and war, the cloister and its library were often on the point of being swept away but as often were rebuilt from the ruins. The simple wooden hut which St. Gall built in the

seventh century has grown to the magnificent cathedral, one of the best examples of the baroque style, profusely adorned in stone, wood, plaster and polychrome and with bas-reliefs of scenes from the life of the founder. Here repose the remains of St. Gall and of many of his countrymen of whom Dubwin, another Irishman at the monastery, wrote:

> Hi sunt insignes sancti, quos insula nostra
> Nobilis indigenos nutrivit Hibernia claros,
> Quorum grata fides, virtus, honor, inclita vita
> Has aulas, summasque domos sacravit amoenas.

"These are the illustrious holy men whom our island, the blessed Hibernia, reared as her glorious sons, whose faith, valor, honor and unsullied life hallowed these precincts and spacious halls."

III. The Irish Monks of Reichenau.

That the Irish monks were ardent lovers of nature must have occurred to anyone who has visited the spots they selected for the centres of their fields of labor; it is remarkable how often their choice was a lovely island in a beautiful lake or river; it is also worthy of note that they selected just those parts of the continent which had been the camping grounds of their ancestors hundreds of years before and where stray evidences of Celtic occupation exist to the present day. Surely a more ideal site for a monastery could not be imagined than Rheinau, the Augia Minor of the ancients, a tiny oval island joined by one bridge to the German, by another to the Swiss shore, and set as a jewel among the hills which slope gently to the Rhine, that flows in a swift, shallow, rumbling stream below the Falls at Schaffhausen.

There are some objects of interest to be seen at Rheinau, among them the grave of St. Fintan, an Irishman who after travelling through Gaul, Alemannia and Lombardy came to Rheinau in the middle of the ninth century, and began the monastery which is now used as an asylum for the insane, and where the ancient library is now, *horresco referens,* the wash-house and scullery.

A visit to Rheinau does not call up so many reminiscences in history as even a superficial visit to the Augia Major or Reichenau, an island not more than an hour and a half's walk in length and a half hour's walk at its greatest width, in the *Unter-See,* the outlet of the Lake of Constance, which it rivals in the beauty of its surroundings, the transparency of the water and the great sheets of green, amber, copper and mother-of-pearl which line the bottom. The double file of tall almost branchless trees bordering the long, narrow strip of land which joins Reichenau to the Baden shore stands out prominently on the horizon but in the early morning of my visit the mist shut off everything beyond the dismal morasses on either side of the dike. The monotony of the way was broken by two stone crosses and by the *Kindlebild,* a wee chapel a few feet long and half as wide, its sides covered with plaster and its roof with moss on the spot where, until the middle of the seventeenth century the unbaptized children of the island were buried. It is adorned with statues of St. George and the dragon and of St. Michel with the flaming sword, and within the small round portal is a bench for the traveller. After passing the ruins of the castle Schopfeln, a stronghold which has stood for many centuries at the entrance of the island, the road leads between well kept orchards and vineyards where the feet of the vines were still covered with layers of straw, first through Oberzell, with an interesting old church and probably the oldest frescoes on German soil, to Mittel—and finally to Untergall—only a few minutes walk apart. Mittelgall is the largest of the three villages, the seat of local administration, most beautifully situated in the heart of the island. The sun had by this time driven away the mist, and in the east, over the trees and vine-poles which dot the island, the towers and roofs of Constance rose out of the lake. Across the narrow sheet of water to the north are the comparatively smooth rolling hills of Baden and on the opposite shore toward Arenberg and Eugensberg are the fir clad spurs of the Alps with the isolated peak of Säntis looming above them. This exquisite, fertile island, Augia *dives,* the *Reichenau,* is beautifully described by Scheffel in his *Ekkehard* in verses arranged from Ermenrich's *Vita S. Galli:*

Reichenau, grünendes Eiland, wie bist du vor andern gesegnet,
Reich an Schätzen des Wissens und heiligem Sinn der Bewohner,
Reich an des Obstbaums Frucht und schwellender Traube des Weinbergs,
Immerdar blüht es auf die und spiegelt im See sich die Lilie,
Weithin schallet dein Ruhm bis ins neblige Land der Britannen.

Reichenau is also rich in historical interest for it was one of the most important settlements of the Irish monks and from time to time, especially during the twelfth century, it was the residence of emperors, kings, princes and legates and is to-day the grave of a king, of dukes and counts. The lake in which it lies is equally known as the "Zeller-See" from the number of cloisters and cells which once lined its banks. The first of these was that of the Irishman Pirminius, who may be called the founder of Reichenau, for he came there about the year 725 and built a wooden church and cells for himself and his companion, and on the spot where Pirminius had built his wooden cells and church the beginnings of the present building were made in the time of Charles the Great. The church is not unimpressive even though it is low and squat and with a heavy tower, and pierced at regular intervals, in spite of its saddle roof, with rows of arched windows. The interior is plain and almost unornamented, for only traces remain of its once beautiful frescoes and sculptures, save for a series of paintings which hang on both sides of the nave and represent, with the appropriate legends, the bringing of the Holy Blood to Reichenau, and a few others that represent events in the life of the holy Pirminius. Reichenau possesses, besides the relic of the Holy Blood, a fragment of the Saviour's cross, relics of St. Mark, monstrances, reliquaries, rich vestments and other precious objects. The visitor will of course look for the grave of Charles III, the last of the Carlovingians, a frequent guest at Reichenau, and, according to an old chronicler of the cloister, he will find it "by dem altar unser lieben frowen in dem Cor zu der rechten sitten"; there over the sacristy door is an almost obliterated painting of the king and an inscription which tells a great deal in a few lines; it runs in this wise:

"Carolus Crassus, Rex Sueviæ, pronepos Caroli Magni, Italiam potenter intravit, eamque devicit. Imperiumque Ro-

manum, ubi Cæsar coronatur, obtinuit, ac mortuo fratre suo Ludovico universam Germaniam et Galliam jure hereditario acquisivit. Demum animo, mente et corpore deficiens, ab imperio suo sane magno cum fortunæ ludibrio dejectus, a suis omnibus postpositus, humili hoc in loco sepultus jacens, abiit anno Domini 888 Idibus Januarii.

"Pannonas et Cymbros diverso Marte subegit
Carolus, a crasso corpore nomen habens.
Sed bene quas juvenis regni tractarat habenas
His iterum senior despoliatus obit."

It is to be deplored that such scanty notice and such scanty remains of the Irish who were in Reichenau in the ninth century have come down to us. In the year 860 Ermenrich of Reichenau wrote to Grimoald of St. Gall: "How can we ever forget Ireland, the island where the sun of faith arose for us and whence the brilliant rays of so great a light have reached us?" With what tireless industry the members of the cloister wrote and collected for their library is clear from a catalogue of the library in the middle of the ninth century from which it is possible to reconstruct the "armarium" of the cloister consisting of books covering a wide range of subjects. Later the precious pieces of the collection were scattered far and wide; for example the Priscian and the Bede with marginal or interlinear notes in Irish are now at Karlsruhe and we are told that at the time of the Council of Constance *whole ship loads* of books were brought there from the almost abandoned Reichenau cloister.

In a wing of the present building the local court of law holds its sessions; on the first floor the young islanders receive the rudiments of knowledge and in the rooms above teachers have their quarters. This was the cloister where for several centuries art and science had their most devoted students. Its

[1] In this humble spot rests Charles the Fat, King of Suabia, grandson of Charlemagne and conqueror of Italy. The Empire of Rome where the Cæsars are crowned was his and on the death of his brother Lewis all Germany and Gaul fell to him. At length when courage, mind and body began to fail, by a striking whim of fortune, he was removed from power and neglected by his own. He died on the Ides of January, A. D., 888.

Charles, surnamed the Fat, subdued in many a battle, the Pannonii and Cymbri, but in his old age he was robbed of the reins of power which in his youth he had handled well.

school of sculpture and painting and above all the singing-school of Reichenau were celebrated. Some of the most famous names in the history of mediæval music, as Hermannus the Lame, 'the Wonder of the Century,' the reputed author of the *Salve Regina,* the *Alma Redemptoris* and other Marian songs, belong to Reichenau. At the time of its greatest lustre Reichenau numbered two hundred monks and the paintings which illustrate its history testify to its opulence—a cloister in which for ages only princes, dukes, counts and freemen were received as capitulars; a cloister on which popes and kaisers showered their favors and protection; a cloister with such vast possessions and dependencies that the saying went that if the abbot of Reichenau journeyed to Rome he would everyday find himself on his own land and could pass the night in one of his own cloisters. But—*sic transit gloria!*—in the course of the centuries Reichenau fell so low that its abbot had not the wherewithal to maintain his own table but depended on the liberality of a neighboring prelate.

Augia regalis
Dives quandoque fuisti
Nunc talis qualis
Quia plurima damna tulisti.[1]

[1] O, sovereign island, once beautiful, rich and flourishing, what a picture dost thou offer now, because of all the pains thou hast suffered!

RENNES, FRANCE.

JOHN JOSEPH DUNN

ON IRISH NOVELS.

The new movement which is expressing itself in Irish literature to-day is not akin to the movement that influenced the Irish novelists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the first place—and this is one of its chief values in many eyes—it is not a movement of reaction. In the second, it is not purely social. There is not an Irish novelist worthy to be mentioned in this paper whose work can be judged by an exclusively literary or artistic standard. The greatest of them all, William Carleton, was a novelist because he put character, alive and palpitating, on paper and fixed it there for all time, preserving the varying shades of vitality. He likewise gave the atmosphere of certain parts of his country so accurately that his novels, whatever may be the literary judgment of the future, must have an enormous sociological influence on the work of the future historian of Ireland.

The influences that have touched such diverse personalities as Miss Edgeworth and Miss Laffan, Samuel Lover, and Charles Kickham, Gerald Griffin and Anthony Trollope, who wrote novels of Irish life, Lady Morgan and Charles Lever, are not the influences that move Lady Gregory, Mr. William Yeats, Dr. Douglas Hyde or Katharine Tynan, when she does not write novels. Canon Sheehan belongs also to the older sociological school, while Dr. Barry, at least in one novel, has shown that he is willing to be receptive to the influences lately developed and recognized. In the newer movement, art counts for much,—and there is the old yearning for the mysticism of the past. In the older movement, mysticism counted for little and conscious art for less. All the Irish novelists, except Miss Laffan and Miss Tynan, whose importance, after all, does not lie in her novels, seem to regard to the laws of literary proportion—in another phrase, the art of construction—as if they had no relation to the gift of story-telling. There is another distinct difference between the writers in the new

Irish movement and the older novelists. Carleton and Griffin, Lover and Lever, even the Banims, can not somehow prevent themselves from seeing the Irish people from the outside. When Griffin sings of his childhood, one feels that there is a note of regret in the song for the separation which the alien language, claiming and holding him, has made for him from the essences of the Irish past. And when Carleton makes some of his very snobbish notes, for the benefit of a prejudiced and ignorant public, one knows that he is trying to look at his own race from an alien standpoint. The Hon. Miss Lawless, Miss Laffan, Miss Jane Barlow and even the exquisite Moira O'Neill, who has the point of view of a novelist, though she is not one, all have sympathy and understanding, but it is a sympathy and understanding not unconscious. Thackeray's Irish characters are no more evidently painted from the outside than many of Lever's and Lover's. The dash, the sparkle, the irresponsibility of Lever's soldiers are only the glints of sunlight on the surface of rippling waters; and the imitators of Lover, Nugent Robinson, whose short story, "The Little Chapel of Monamullen," and Myles O'Reilly, have done no more than reproduce these effects. Lover, whose "Handy Andy," is the best of all his works, has a coarseness of touch, a lack of art, and a habit of patronizing the Irish, which is amusing now; it is easy to imagine how irritating it must have been when the people thus patronized and "arranged" for foreign inspection were powerless to resent it. It used to be a very common remark among visitors to Ireland that "the Irish did not know their own literature." "Their own literature," in the estimation of the tourist, was principally "Father Tom and the Pope" and the uproarious novels of Lever. The defect in both Lover's novels, "Rory O'More"—by all odds the best—and "Handy Andy" is that they were written with an eye on what the English reader could expect the Irish personages to do;—but, in all except the outer characteristics of a wonderfully complex people, they give only hints. We get near to the heart of the people in Carleton's "Poor Scholar," in Banim's "Crohoore of the Billhook," in Griffin's "Collegians"—above all, it seems to me, in spite of the demands of a non-Catholic market—in Carleton.

Anthony Trollope's Irish novels, "The Macdermots of Ballycloran," "The Kellys and the O'Kellys," followed much later by "The Land Leaguers" deserve the criticism of the London *Times,* in 1848—"Of 'The Kellys and the O'Kellys' we may say what the master said to his footman, when the man complained of the constant supply of legs of mutton on the kitchen table. 'Well John, legs of mutton are very substantial food'; and we may say also that John replied,—'Substantial, sir—yes, they are substantial but a little coarse.'" Trollope, one of the first of English novelists, whose "Warden" and "Barchester Towers" ought to rank among the classics, had too coarse a touch for the lights and shadows in the April-country of Ireland. His Irish novels, he admits, were never heard of in Ireland, and the editions sold in England were very small; the first two he wrote with pleasure; "The Land Leaguers" has less interest than the others,—and indeed, no method could be less adapted than the hard-and-fast one of Trollope for representing the Irish of any period.

Trollope's point of view was sympathetic, and, though he could not do what he did for the Anglican parson,—that is, give us the best pictures of Protestant clerical life done in English,—pictures that have a right to stand beside those Mrs. Oliphant well made of the dissenting clergy in "The Chronicles of Carlingford"—his portrait of Father John and his curate are much truer and kinder than might be expected from a man who had little knowledge of the inner life of priests. He was faithful to Irish life as he saw it. "It was altogether a jolly life I led in Ireland," he says. in his "Autobiography." "The Irish people did not murder me, nor did they even break my head. I soon found them to be good-humored, clever—the working classes much more intelligent than those of England—economical and hospitable. We hear much of their spendthrift nature, but extravagance is not the nature of an Irishman. He will count the shillings in a pound much more accurately than an Englishman, and with much more certainty, get twelve pennyworth from each. But the Irish are perverse, irrational and but little bound by the love of truth. I lived for many years among them—not finally leaving the country until 1850—and I had means of studying their character."

Miss Edgeworth was a realist, but with more theories than Trollope. The Ireland of "Castle Rackrent" (1800) was not the Ireland of fifty-nine years later. Miss Edgeworth, unlike Miss Austen, but like Miss Burney and George Eliot, had the misfortune to fall under masculine influence. Miss Burney, who saw her world with keen, interested, and observant eyes, in "Evelina," became mannered and verbose in "Cecilia"; George Eliot, who was delightfully humorous and finely receptive to the values of social relations in "Scenes in Clerical Life" and "The Mill on the Floss" became more and more didactic and less truly artistic as Mr. George Lewes' influence over her increased. Dr. Johnson's habit of making little fishes talk like whales, caught by Miss Burney, destroyed the promise of her youth, and Dr. Edgeworth's comfortable method of setting everything by rule and measure interfered with the free development of Miss Edgeworth's talent as a novelist. In "Castle Rackrent," in "Ennui," in "The Absentee," we see traces of those economic theories, those constant appeals to the processes of natural philosophy that had begun to take the place of spirituality in the bosom of many self-complacent persons in the middle of the eighteenth century. It was in this atmosphere of self-satisfaction that Madame de Genlis brought up the Orleans princes; it permeated all the literature for youth, and the very essentials of it are found in the maxims of Benjamin Franklin.

"Castle Rackrent" is the best remembered of Miss Edgeworth's novels. It interpreted certain phases of Irish life to a public that was ignorant of them. All her novels are free from sectarian prejudice, and, in spite of the lack of vitality in some of the characters drawn by her from fashionable life, she deserved the admiration that Sir Walter Scott unreservedly expressed for her. Her sympathy is always on the side of the angels and the Irish. With the terrible or the deeply pathetic, she is not at close quarters. She prefers to see them at a distance. She had limitations—the limitations of her creed and time. A clear head, a good heart, a well-balanced mind, a moral point of view, a keen sense of humor and as keen an appreciation of wit gave her the qualities which caused her Irish novels to be appreciated by the only public that could afford

to buy them—the English. She saw the evils of absenteeism; and these evils she depicted as degrading the character of the landlord as well as ruining both the mental and physical life of the tenant. "The Absentee" and "Ennui" are good examples of her work in trying to correct the prevalent absenteeism. "The Absentee" opens with a picture unhappily, if one may judge from contemporary records, only too faithful.

"Are you to be at Lady Clonbrony's gala next week?" said Lady Langdale to Mrs. Dareville, whilst they were waiting for their carriages in the crush-room of the opera-house.

"Oh, yes! everybody's to be there, I hear," replied Mrs. Dareville, "Your ladyship, of course!"

"Why, I don't know; if I possibly can. Lady Clonbrony makes it such a point with me, that I believe I must look in upon her for a few minutes. They are going to a prodigious expense on this occasion. She tells me that the reception rooms are all to be newly furnished, and in the most magnificent style."

"At what a famous rate these Clonbronys are rushing on," said Colonel Heathcock, "up to anything!"

"Who are they?—these Clonbronys, that one hears so much of late?" said her grace of Torcaster, "Irish absentees, I know. But how do they support all this enormous expense?"

"The son will have a prodigiously fine estate when some Mr. Quinn dies."

"Yes, everybody who comes from Ireland *will* have a fine estate when somebody dies," said her grace. "But what have they at present?"

"Twenty thousand a year, they say!" replied Mrs. Dareville.

Later, Lady Langdale says, of the Irish peeress,

"If you knew all she endures to look, move, breathe, speak like an Englishman, you would pity her."

"Yes, and you can not conceive the *peens* she *teeks* to talk of the *teebles* and *cheers,* and to thank Q, and with so much *teeste* to speak English," said Mrs. Dareville.

"Poor cockney, you mean," said Lady Langdale.

"But does Lady Clonbrony expect to pass for English?" said the duchess.

"Oh, yes, because she is not quite Irish *bred and born*—only bred, not born," said Mrs. Dareville. "And she could not be five minutes in your company before she would tell you that she was *Henglish,* born in Hoxfordshire."

To a healthy-minded woman like Miss Edgeworth, who valued, among other things not English, her relationship to the Abbé Edgeworth, the snobbishness of certain compatriots was unendurable; she liked and admired the Irish; even their faults were to her not real faults—or, at most, they were faults of her family circle, to be condoned, if possible; if not, to be accepted so long as they did not imply meanness. "Castle Rackrent" led Sir Walter Scott to use his wide experience with Scottish characters in a similar way. "If I could," he said to James Ballantyne, "but hit Miss Edgeworth's wonderful power of vivifying all her persons, and making them live as *beings* in your mind, I should not be afraid."

The time came when he was not afraid, for the world had given its verdict, and it justly put Sir Walter far beyond Miss Edgeworth in the portrayal of national characteristics. Still, when Sir Walter attempted the novel of fashionable society, he felt the limitations much more than Miss Edgeworth. "Belinda," Miss Edgeworth's worst novel because that philosophic doctor, her father, would *meddle* with it, is incomparably better than "St. Ronan's Well." Thady, the teller of the story of the family of "Castle Rackrent" was not, as a creation, surpassed by Scott; one may yawn over the talk and the tribulations of Miss Edgeworth's fine ladies and gentlemen, but her common people are always very much alive and racy of the soil that alone could give such beings birth. "Ormond," as far as the story of Irish life goes, is of more importance than either "Ennui" or "The Absentee." The real Miss Edgeworth, the lover of the manifestations of character, the sincere, the unaffected, the graphic is here. The novel of manners is one of the most useful documents for the historian, as we know; and, in English literature, it is of very recent growth. The historian of Ireland in the eighteenth century could as fairly neglect "Castle Rackrent" and "Ormond" in his sociological chapters as the historian of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, dealing with France, could afford to pass by the psychological studies, expressed in fiction, of Paul Bourget.

The novel and the short story have very much in common, as the short story is understood to-day. The narrative, the

string of episodes into which characteristics rather than character enter, has not the qualities of the form of literature which for almost two centuries we have called the novel. The novel proper differs principally from the romance in its accent on character and atmosphere. The short story of to-day is not the tale made so famous in English letters by Blackwood's Magazine. It depends, like the novel, on atmosphere—the color of the society it interprets—and on the development of psychology. Most of the Irish short story writers approach more to the novel, as we understand it to-day, and, as a rule, the writers of short stories, like Miss Jane Barlow, are included among the novelists.

Lover and Lever, however, were romancers rather than story writers. Smollet, or Dickens at his worst—when justly interpreted by Cruikshanks—was no more of a caricaturist than Lover. Those who read Smollett now, look on his caricatures as bad art, and those of Dickens, though deserving a similar censure, do not offend as Lover's offend. There is the effect, in some of Lover's most comic pages, of heartlessness. Poverty and wit, starvation and humor exist together, but the result in the eyes of an author who does not write merely to make his public laugh, ought to be pathetic, heart-stirring and tear-stirring, rather than amusing; if test of a novel is the question whether one remembers character or incident Lover must be put outside the class of novelists, for, in "Rory O'More" and "Handy Andy," it is the incidents that are etched on our minds. The characters stand out as persons that are created for the incidents. This is even truer of Lever than of Lover. From "Harry Lorrequer" to "Lord Kilgobbin," there is hardly one character, except Micky Free, that holds fast to the memory; there is no person who seems so real as Carleton's "Poor Scholar," Griffin's Hardress Cregan, or the hero of William Banim's "Crohoore of the Bill-hook."

Lever is the first of all the romancers of military life, as Maxwell is of the sporting life of the Irish gentry. Maxwell's best work is in "The Wild Sports of the West"; it has all the sparkle, all the recklessness of Lever in his Leveresque moods. It is evident, in this book, that congenial tastes bound Lever and Maxwell together. No succeeding writer in any language

has given to the life of the camp and barracks the glamor with which governments endeavor to make them alluring by means of gold lace, flags and music, but the brilliance of Lever is a surface brilliancy. It seems almost a pity that Lever should have chosen Ireland and Irish influences as his themes, for no writer has given the Irish a more widespread reputation for that irresponsibility and volatility,—so agreeably contemplated by a dominant race,—than this very clever romancer. He stands alone in literature; in light-mindedness, in that gaiety of heart which leads to anything but gaiety of head in the morning, who can come near him? He apotheosizes wine, women and song, and makes the primrose path of dalliance as agreeable as the Moore-Anacreon pictures of heaven where rosy cupids float on bubbles of rosier champagne. He saves himself always from mere coarseness or vulgarity, and he is so light-hearted that nobody seriously asks whether his point of view is moral or not. His pictures of Dublin society in its bloom will live, and his fun no doubt continue to smooth the wrinkles of care, in spite of the fact that Jack Hinton and Harry Lorrequer and Tom Burke—all chips off the same block—seem rather more puppet-like than they did twenty years ago. The improvement in taste and the higher demands made on the construction power of the romance of to-day are shown by the modern view of his "Maurice Tierney" and "Gerald Fitzgerald." They seem thin and tired at times; but, even as they are, there has been so far no story of Irish chivalry that at all approaches Lever's romances—even taking "Gerald Fitzgerald" which he evidently regarded as his weakest, as a standard. And yet no period in which Irishmen held a conspicuous place offers more alluring opportunities to the man of creative imagination than the years following "the flight of the wild geese."[1] With James II and Louis XVI, Sarsfield and the Duke of Berwick and all the glittering groups of fighting exiles, from the period of the Sun-Monarch to that of the Sea-Green Marat what vistas of romance there are! "Gerald Fitzgerald" brings us down to the time of Louis XVI. Mirabeau and the figures that moved about him appear; this romance has not the *verve* and

[1] Recently exquisitely and tenderly immortalized in Miss Lawler's unique book of poems, "With the Wild Geese."

the swing of the earlier books yet, from the point of view of the literary critic, it is constructively and in style much better than many historical romances which are more read to-day; but Lever did not like it, and, in spite of the unusual pains he took in writing it, he did not wish to include it in the collected edition of his works. Mr. William McLennen, in "Spanish John," Mr. S. R. Keightly, in "The Last Recruit of Clare's" and Mr. L. McManus, in "Lally of the Brigade" have tried their hands;—so far they have made only promises to transfigure epochs which will always appeal to the love of the heroic.

There are two romances—one written by an Irishman, but not an Irish romance—"The Epicurean," the other Irish of the Irish, Gerald Griffin's "Invasion"—that have been lost sight of by the general reader. "The Epicurean" is very remarkable and well-written; in spite of its erudition, it is vital. "The Invasion" is very worthy of a much higher place than "The Epicurean"; it ought to have done for the later Danish period of Irish history what "Ivanhoe" did for the early Norman period of English history. For some reason or other, not apparent, "The Invasion" is almost forgotten, though it abounds in stirring scenes and vivid pictures of that old life of Druid and gallowglass and prince and sept of which most of us know so little. No one who has read it can forget it. It might be said that Gerald Griffin sometimes tints when he should lay on his colors heavily, and this may have a shade of truth in it; but who could color more heavily than Sir Samuel Ferguson in that wonderful "Hibernian Nights" of his, and what stories have been more completely forgotten? The reason for the neglect of "The Invasion" would seem more intangible, if the romance should be revived and read.

The melodrama of "The Collegians" has, by comparison, put the other novels of Gerald Griffin into the background. When Dion Boucicault dramatized this novel, he did its author a bad turn. It made the worst qualities of this fine work of fiction permanent in the public mind. Nothing can be said against "The Colleen Bann" as a well-constructed play for the stage; but it is stagy of the stage, and Dion Boucicault found the hints for this theatricalism in the novel itself. It has not, however, the fine quality of the novel. Griffin had more art,

more refinement, more sense of the perspective of life than the Banims or Carleton; his studies in the world around him resulted in the expression of truths that all his contemporaries disdained. He knew the heart of Munster as only a man who was a poet could know it; there are pages in "Tales of the Munster Festivals" that can not be rivalled in artistic effect, —an effect so convincing that the means by which it is obtained are lost to the reader in the terror or the pathos of the moment. "The Half Sir" is one of the most careful presentations of certain phases of Irish life which Lover, Lever and Miss Laffan would have caricatured, the Banims seen as through a glass darkly, and which Carleton would have coarsened. The strain of pessimism which neutralized the Christian energy of Griffin at times relaxes his effort just as he nears a fine psychological climax. Take him as he is, and, without giving "The Collegians" the exaggerated praise it has received at the expense of his other works, he ranks very near the first of all the Irish novelists. Lady Gilbert (Rosa Mulholland) in "The Wild Birds of Killeevey" shows some of the delicate insight into character which distinguishes him from his rivals. She has fine art; she is more healthy in her conception of life, more cheerful; but her work to his is as a pastel of the Lakes of Killarney on a sunny day to a Turner picture of a winter's wreck on the southwest coast. "The Aylmers of Bally-Aylmer" and "The Wild Birds of Killeevey" should be read together as a contrast in Irish fiction; and both are works by careful artists. Maginn and Mrs. S. C. Hall and Croker are persons each of importance to the student of comparative literature, and each a good story teller, though there are times when Mrs. S. C. Hall strikes fire out of the worn stony path-way of perfunctory writing. Who reads Lady Morgan's "St. Clair" now? It has gone out of fashion with the turban and the flowing ringlet and the "Annuals" with desperate verses in them and sugar-and-water stories, "I never loved a dear gazelle" and other sentimentalities. Lady Morgan is, above all, sentimental, and there can be no comparison made between the strong and graphic "Boyne Water" and "The Denounced" of John Banim; but "The Wild Irish Girl" and "The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys" deserve respect; they opened vistas of

the past to people who seemed, in their despair, to have neither past nor future. Say what we will,—to give a man a pedigree is to give him self-respect. Lady Morgan's taste is not always correct; she is often as untrammelled in her sarcastic epithets as the first Lady Bulwer-Lytton; but she loved a nation that then had few to love it. You may smile at her Glorvina and the swelling harp, and yet, in a sound heart, that smile ought to be very near a tear. Seumas McManus, the latest of the Irish story-writers, would not dare to introduce Lady Morgan's romantic effects and William Butler Yeats would doubtless put "The Wild Irish Girl" among the rococo "properties" of a theatrical past—but, they are of another time.

The greatest of all the Irish novelists is without doubt William Carleton. Prejudices have passed—they were founded on principles, but let them go. Carleton has his vagaries; but when one reads his stories, one can not help saying, with Ophelia, "God have mercy on his soul,—and on all Christian souls!" To read, when one is young, Carleton's series of novels, "Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry" is to go into a strange land of bright sunshine and deep shadow, where there are great sorrows and great joys but very little happiness. One feels that one is looking at this new life in the grasp of a giant, and a giant who is strong and coarse and sometimes mean. Youth is intolerant. Carleton, with his glaring faults, is not the writer for youth. When a man has reached middle age, he may turn to these works of a genius who never took pains, for instruction and delight. Let us allow for all the faults of construction, the vulgarity that prejudices all readers of "Paddy Go-Easy" against Carleton, the occasional humble apologies to the English lords and gentleman—and you find one of the most moving writers that ever dipped a pen in his experience and wrote in English. To read "A Poor Scholar" well is to become a better man. When Carleton lets his peasants speak for themselves, they are perfect. When he speaks for them himself, he is at times what the French call *banal,* when he becomes one of them and speaks and acts with them, you see into their hearts and souls, you know their country as they know it. Then he is the master of the pathetic, of the terrible, of the simple, of the fair hope, of the dark

sorrow because he understands and forgetting himself in the depths of his understanding, he fires you with sympathy. For truth and horror, read "The Llanhan Shee"; for humor and grief "The Geography of an Irish Oath"; for simple faith,—to feel all pure impulses stir within you—"The Poor Scholar." This Gaelic is incorrect, we have been told,—so incorrect that the philologers can not put it right. When Ophelia calls for her coach and Queen Gertrude weeps, who cares when coaches were used or invented? And so with Carleton's Gaelic;—verbal infelicities are forgotten in a scene like that in "The Poor Scholar," where the father and mother look at the sleeping boy, who, they hope, will be a priest:

"The father looked at the expression of affectionate melancholy which shaded his features as he slept; and the perception of the boy's internal struggle against his own domestic attachments in accomplishing his first determination, powerfully touched his heart.

" 'Vara,' said he, 'I know the boy—he won't give up; and 'twould be a pity—maybe a sin—to put him from it. Let the child get fair play, an' thry his coorse. If he fails, he can come back to us, an' our arms and hearts will open to welcome him! But if God prospers him, wouldn't it be a blessin' that we never expected, to see him in the white robes, celebratin' one mass for his paarents. If these ould eyes could see that, I would be contented to close them in pace an' happiness for ever.

" 'An' well you'd become them, avourneen machree! Well would your mild and handsome countenance look wid the long heavenly stole of innocence upon you! and although it's atin' into my heart, I'll bear it for the sake of seein' the same blessed sight. Look at that face, Dominick—mightn't many a lord of the land be proud to have such a son? May the heavens shower down its blessin' upon him!'

"The father burst into tears. 'It is—it is!' said he—'it is the face that ud make many a noble heart proud to look at it! Is it any wondher it ud cut our hearts, thin, to have it taken from afore our eyes? Come away, Vara—come away, or I'll not be able to part wid it. It is the lovely face—an' kind is the heart of my darling child.' As he spoke he stooped down and kissed the youth's cheek, on which the warm tears of affection fell soft as the dew from heaven. The mother followed his example, and they both left the room."

There are strong and tender passages in "Valentine Mc-

Clutchy," "The Black Prophet" and even in that popular romance, "Willy Reilly"; in "Art Maguire," in "The Emigrants of Ahadarra," but in "The Traits and Stories" we may look for the manifestations of Carleton's genius at its highest point. There was a lesser man who had glimpses of the fire that led Carleton onward, Charles Kickham. "Sally Cavanaugh" and "Knock-na-Gow" can not be forgotten by those who have lived in the charmed atmosphere which Kickham's wizard-wand created. Carleton had led the way, yet it was not easy to be followed by men of more imagination but less feeling and experience.

Carleton stands alone. He is ruthless at times; he revels in horrors, as in "The Black Prophet," where the descriptions of the famine are as heart-rending as the plague scenes in Manzoni, or the yellow fever episode in Charles Brockden Brown. Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue, in his admirable sketch of Carleton, says that Kickham is the only Irish novelist who approaches Carleton's "power over the emotions." "Outburts of occasional misrepresentations," Mr. O'Donoghue says, returning to Carleton, "can not, however, obliterate his great services to Ireland, and, in the main, there is no picture so true as that presented in his 'Traits and Stories.'"

A careful study of the Irish novelists,—I except novelists like Julia Kavanaugh, the author of "Nathalie" and "Adèle" and J. Sheridan Le Fanu, who did not write about Ireland,—is necessary for the understanding of the history of Ireland in the last hundred years; and the material is plentiful and easy of access.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

LUTHER UND LUTHERTHUM.[1]

Long before this work was published Protestants and Catholics awaited eagerly the revelations it would bring. It was well remembered that in all previous works of the learned author revolutionizing results followed. Many rumors were afloat as to the intention of the Dominican. Many expected the edition of documents hitherto unknown.

The publication of the work produced a varied impression. In Catholic quarters minor publications gave an unreserved approval. The more serious and learned critics reviewed the book cautiously and made many qualifications. In the Protestant camp many at once condemned the work. The wiser kept a prudent silence. Quietly waiting and deliberating they will be ready to strike at the proper moment. So too is Denifle preparing his defence. He has already given his answer to his principal critics, Harnack and Seeberg.[2]

On the authority of lesser writers it was gleefully announced by some that Catholics had changed their tactics, that the method of Janssen was abolished, that the Catholic view was approaching the Protestant. These must feel much disappointed for their joy was premature and unwarranted. Denifle has shown that they were entirely misinformed, for he went beyond Janssen, Pastor and Paulus. He has finally disposed of the legend, born of kind forbearance, that Luther was scrupulous. From first to last the author has shown his Catholic colors.

In a criticism of Janssen's work the distinguished editor of the *Hist. Pol. Blaetter* said that Janssen reversed the position of historians. Since Ranke Protestant historians

[1] "Luther und Lutherthum in der ersten Entwickelung quellenmaessig dargestellt," von P. Heinrich Denifle, O. P. Erster Band, Mainz, 1904 (pp. xxix + 860). This article was prepared for the Historical Academy, and is based on the very able and thorough review in the *Hist. Pol. Blaetter*, Vol. 133, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

[2] "Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Bedeutung." Prinzipielle Auseinandersetzung mit A. Harnack und R. Seeberg, von P. Heinrich Denifle Mainz, 1904 (pp. 89).

were on the offensive, but since Janssen they were placed on the defensive. In his tactics of the offensive Denifle goes far beyond Janssen.

Denifle's work is the making of a new epoch. On account of prominent defects the work cannot be called brilliant in every respect. The style is often unadorned and awkward; the language is not refined and knows neither adjective nor phrase; division and method are artless, at times mechanical, and would lead one to think the author was destitute of a sense of extrinsic beauty.

There are three principal defects. There is a want of system. Frequently the arrangement is based on a mere association of ideas; without unity or order exposition is followed by criticism; promiscuously the history of dogma, the doctrine of Luther, the view of Catholics and the view of Protestants are considered. The material could have been better sifted, and the whole work could have been better polished and arranged more logically.

But far more serious than the technical question is the subjectivism manifested in the work. This objection cannot be urged against the book as such, nor can this term be applied to the greater part of the contents. The study of Luther's portraits is most subjective and it would have been better to omit this paragraph, because adversaries will make it a standard by which to judge the entire work.

The professed object of the author—to open the eyes of Protestants to see the real Luther—would have been attained more effectively, if the tone and language were less daring and antagonizing, if the dialectic stream were more quiet and unruffled, if facts alone had been allowed to speak. But such is not the manner of Denifle. He wrote not merely with the calculating intellect but with the heart. In the preface he says: "If I recognize anything as a lie I call it a lie; if I am met with deceit and ignorance I designate them as such." He informs us that he went to work with a pure intention and pure motives, calls God to witness that he strove always to picture correctly. That the reformer appears in such bad light is not his fault, but the fault of Luther himself. Without prejudice he studied Luther from the writings of Luther.

The author is certainly sincere. He is convinced of the truth of his statements, and his open, undisguised expressions must be respected.

Denifle gives a description of his feelings in writing this work:

"Too long have Protestant theologians and preachers, in chair and pulpit, in books and periodicals presumed to attack Catholic institutions and to praise the reformers' work of liberation; too long have Protestant teachers given a most horrifying picture of the Catholic church to the people; too long have scientific men spoken with disdain about Catholicism. Everything may be criticised, but no one must undertake to speak adversely of Luther."

Facts show that Denifle is not entirely wrong. It is painful to see critical papers pronounce a work unscientific for no other reason than that the author is a man of ultramontane views. Catholic historians have written in a polite and reserved style, but were nevertheless condemned as writing with a tendency. Hitherto Catholics have borne silently many acts of injustice. That a man of sufficient independence should at last come forward to express openly his Catholic views, and boldly to expose the weak points of the adversary is not at all surprising. When Protestants cry out against the inconsiderate monk, they should remember that their own unfair and dishonest methods were for him the impelling motive. The work need not be recommended for imitation, but it will produce results. It will make Protestants more cautious and inspire Catholics with more confidence.

Doubtlessly Denifle studied to uncover the weak points of Luther and to show these plainly to the people. In the past, biographers have always carefully avoided such an exposition. Denifle's work completes the picture of Luther. Hereafter it cannot be denied that the originator of the Reformation had weak points and many of them. It was not pleasant for the author, that the object to be attained demanded that the book be filled with filth, that in consequence the book is not proper reading for youth and that even maturer men must shudder whilst reading.

No matter what is said of the style, under the rough shell there lies the true kernel. The uncouth dress does not destroy

the scientific worth. Critical judgment does not consider the personal object for which the author labored, but looks to the method; it is not influenced by the polemic end to be attained, but asks if the writer's investigations are true and objective.

With rare exceptions Denifle has founded all statements on facts critically examined. They cannot be refuted by calling attention to the rough dress in which they are clothed. Science demands more.

In problems like the present the great majority of our historians lack sufficient philosophical and theological knowledge, and also the necessary critical ability. This is evident in modern historical works. History is not the mere narration of facts. It requires thought. The facts must be judged as to their ontological, logical, ethical and aesthetical value. This is a form of higher criticism which is not only permitted but is necessary. Moreover with many of our modern theologians and philosophers there is wanting the good will, the unprejudiced seeking for truth necessary for proper scientific treatment. Harnack presents unproven hypotheses in branches of science with which he is not sufficiently acquainted, and an uncritical world accepts the hypotheses on account of his renown. It is overcome by the logical sequence of conclusions, whose premises are frequently nothing but inventions.

Denifle's method avoids the extremes of the thoughtless historian and the subjective theologian.

There should be harmony between positive investigation and philosophy. We find this union in Denifle, though not complete and perfect. Luther and the entire movement which he inaugurated had to be examined psychologically, logically and ethically; had to be judged and analyzed in its development and its relation to previous history. Denifle was well fitted to undertake this gigantic work. His whole life had been a preparation. He states: "For years it has been my work to investigate the sources of the decline of the regular and secular clergy in the fifteenth century. Nothing was further from my mind than the thought of Luther and Lutheranism. The study followed the two directions which since the fourteenth century appear in France and Germany: the downward tendency of a great part of the secular and regular clergy and

the desire for reform of the remainder. My investigations were directed principally to the decline. In the course of the investigation the question of the character of this decline, and of its first appearance became more prominent."

The development of history is not altogether a social process. The individual retains his full significance. Denifle has taken account of both, has considered Luther and Lutheranism, and has assigned to each the proper sphere. He first discovered Lutheranism, then Luther; first the idea, and later, the originator.

The historian of the Middle Ages has long admitted that mankind, and especially its spiritual leaders, the clergy, had become very corrupt towards the end of that period. The enemies of the church have always pictured this corruption in a most drastic manner. Denifle admits the sad fact. As in the individual so also in society there is always a strife between the spiritual and material element, the one tending upward and the other downward. This opposition became most pronounced towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century when it assumed a most horrible form.

Nowhere have these tendencies been pictured in truer colors than in Denifle. The spiritual tries to check the material, but the material follows its evil bent. As yet the character of the declining tendency was passive and negative. It is very important to remember, that it was confined to practice. The abuses were not yet formulated as a principle and a doctrine. Such an unfortunate sinned indeed, neglected to perform good works, but he did not separate from authority, did not reject the mass, did not pronounce vows wicked, did not look upon his sinful state as a kind of worship, showing forth God's goodness. He still recognized his duty and his guilt and did not doubt for a moment that he alone was the guilty one. Therefore the condition was not hopeless. The habitual sinner, who lived in a state of concubinage, cried for reform.

This was the first stage of wickedness. A second degree was reached during the first two decades of the sixteenth century, when the consciousness of duty and sin began to dis-

appear, when monks and clergy were ready to cast off all responsibility and to risk everything.

This naturally led to a third degree, "the fulness of wickedness," as it is styled by Denifle. Then recalcitrants despised every ecclesiastical institution, trampled upon things hitherto considered holy, preached the emancipation of the flesh and freedom from all law, denied the liberty of the will, denounced vows as the work of the devil, in fine, elevated sinful practice to principle. On account of their many sins these persons considered themselves saints. The leap had been made from the practical to the theoretical, from the ethical to the metaphysical. This was the case with whole classes and Luther was the leader.

The relation of Luther to the school, which was to bear his name, was manifold. In 1516 he still belonged to the opposite reform party and raised his voice in warning as a Father of the Church. After many delays Luther arrived at Lutheranism. To show this personal development is the object of Denifle's volume. With Luther many others were led from the endeavor to effect true reform into an entirely opposite direction. In all there was the same psychological process: the neglect of prayer, of meditation and of confession, the incapability of resisting doubts in matters of faith, and other temptations.

To justify their practice and to excuse their conduct they formulated their principles concerning the uselessness of good works, the rejection of celibacy and the impossibility of its observance. The stream of immorality in Germany and other countries during the last decades of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century was divided into two channels. Those following the one continued in the practice of immorality but remained faithful to the old teaching. They could be brought back by the Council of Trent. The others, separating from the Church, adopted a new system of doctrines, and placed themselves beyond the influence of true reform principles.

It must be admitted that even after his fall Luther retained some noble qualities of mind and character, that much in his life can find an explanation in the tendency of the times.

It is not certain nor probable that he always acted from evil motives. Often it may have been blindness rather than malice that urged the reformer to persist in his evil methods and teach his ruinous theories.

Denifle has not shown us much of the good in Luther. It might have been more opportune if he had thrown a little more light on the demon-like form he pictured. True, the effect of vice on the will cannot be described in too drastic a manner, especially when, as in the present case, vice had become a theory and was the result of reflection. Luther tells us of the necessity he felt to do evil, but no matter how diabolical many of the traits of the later Luther may appear, he was not entirely corrupt.

Superficial readers might conclude that Denifle has given an incorrect and one-sided view of Luther's mental and spiritual condition. But such is not the case. He filled out what was wanting. The positive good that Luther accomplished for Germany and for civilization, the few bright traits in his character have been proclaimed everywhere; they are lauded in all Protestant meetings, and are abundantly treated in books, scientific and unscientific. To describe these again would be superfluous. The systematically one-sided treatment, if Denifle's method deserve that name, was necessary. It is well to remember that Denifle did not intend to write a biography, but merely to assist in gathering the material for one. The future historian can utilize all the collected material and form an harmonious whole.

The adversaries object vehemently that Denifle has no appreciation for all the great and noble qualities of Luther. Though true to a certain extent this accusation does not do away with the value of the work. A person need not possess all vices, nor be devoid of all virtue to deserve a sentence of condemnation, according to the well-known principle, "Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocumque defectu." Morality is inexorable especially when vice has become a habit, and has developed into a theory.

Moreover the motive of the new teaching was under examination. The author intended to show how Luther became the author of Lutheranism. In this study the moral degrada-

tion of the man is of substantial moment. No one will deny that dissatisfaction with existing conditions and the widely prevalent abuses aided the spread of the revolution, but it had no part in the first formation of Luther and Lutheranism. The abuses in benefices, in indulgences, etc., become a factor only for the spread of the system. That such destructive elements as are found in Luther should give rise to so powerful a movement is not contrary to the laws of history. The greatness of Luther's work is not in the ethical sphere but in the physical, and was more destructive than constructive.

It remains to consider Denifle's views as to the development of Luther. He begins with a critical examination of the editions of Luther's works, and is rather severe on Knaake, Buchwald and Kawerau. He gives many instances of the favoritism practiced by the friends of Luther. At other times publishers are most severe in discovering the weak points in a writer. It was the intention to depict favorably the great Luther; hence, whatever there was in his writings to mar the Protestant picture of the reformer was suppressed.[1]

The author proceeds to discuss the character and views of Luther genetically and analytically. As a true historian he is not satisfied with describing but also criticizes. In examining the expressions of Luther he frequently enters into a profound discussion of the ideals of the middle ages. What is of greatest value in these examinations is the fine psychological dissection of the reformer's interior motives.

[1] Seven general editions of Luther's works have thus far been published:

1. The Wittenberg edition, 1539–1558. It consists of twelve volumes of German and seven volumes of Latin works.

2. The Jena edition, 1555–1558, eight volumes of German and four of Latin works. Two supplementary volumes were published at Eisleben, 1564–1565.

3. The Altenburg edition, 1661–1664, ten volumes. A supplement was added in 1792, at Halle by Zeidler.

4. The Leipzig edition, 1729–1740, twenty-two volumes under the direction of Ch. Fr. Boerner.

5. The Halle edition, 1740–1750, twenty-four volumes, prepared by J. G. Walch. This edition, more complete than any of the foregoing, was republished at St. Louis, 1880. (In 3, 4 and 5, the Latin works are translated into German.)

6. The Erlangen edition, 1826–1886. This is the combined work of a number of scholars. The German works fill sixty-seven volumes. A second edition of Volumes I–XX appeared 1862–1881. The edition contains also twenty-eight numbered and ten unnumbered volumes of Latin works.

7. The Weimar critical edition, 1883–1904. Thus far nineteen volumes have been published, containing with some interruptions the writings of Luther to the year 1527. It has many advantages over former editions; it is more complete; the text is taken from first prints or manuscripts; variations are marked; the introductions are valuable and instructive.

In the first half of the work he discusses Luther's teaching and the opinions of Protestant theologians concerning monastic vows. Naturally, celibacy is the principal subject, and the work of Luther, "De Votis Monasticis Judicium," published in 1521, forms the basis for the investigation. This work effected a phenomenal depopulation of convents and monasteries in Germany, and brought many followers to practical and theoretical Lutheranism. Luther considered it his best work and Protestants to-day generally agree in this judgment.

In chapters six and seven the teaching of the scholastics, and the views of Catholics are clearly stated and defended against the gross misrepresentation of Protestants.

"Unhappily, Luther's personal views of Catholic doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline have become the stock-in-trade of his followers, so that even learned men, such as Ritschl and Harnack, in their conception of Catholic ideals derive their data not from Catholic sources, but from Luther's misstatements, and all other Lutherans do the same. Father Denifle successfully attacks their position by quoting largely from the works of mediæval theologians, being thoroughly familiar with these, and he shows what was the trend of thought concerning Christian perfection and the evangelical counsels centuries before Luther. He is no less happy in tracing the evolution of the reformer's opinions from start to finish, having had the good fortune to rediscover in the Vatican library Luther's manuscript commentary on St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, which dates from the year 1515. He thus disposes of the common fallacy as to the way in which Luther is supposed to have arrived at his doctrine of justification by faith alone. According to this fallacy, the reformer, in spite of all his pious exercises, could obtain no peace of conscience while in his monastery, and it was only when he at last took to studying the Bible and the works of St. Augustine, that a new light burst forth in his soul concerning belief in the merits of Jesus Christ. But if in 1515 he was sufficiently conversant with Scripture to write a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, the whole story of his interior life as a religious must be relegated to the domain of romance and fable."[1]

Luther maintained that the pope condemned the married state as sinful. In the thirteenth chapter Denifle shows the true appreciation of matrimony in the Catholic church by point-

[1] Miss J. M. Stone in *Dublin Review*, April, 1904, p. 295.

ing to practice and tradition. To show the pernicious results of Luther's teaching in loosening the marriage tie Denifle discourses on marriage in the ideal order and in historical practice. The permanent value of these chapters is generally admitted. It is seldom that we find so well combined in one person the competent historian and the thorough scholastic.

We are here presented with an astounding insight into the moral appreciation of Luther and Lutheranism, into the character of the idea and of its author. Denifle shows conclusively, how Luther constantly, systematically lied, misrepresented and falsified, and how he urged others to do the same; how he frequently gave evidence of the grossest ignorance on most important points; how he became involved in contradictions through his studied falsification and misrepresentation; how he twisted every thing Catholic so that he might ridicule and abuse it; how he practiced that trivial and unworthy method of hounding the Catholics, which still finds many imitators among his followers; how he could not possibly have acted from conviction and in good faith unless we admit the truth of the principle that the end justifies the means, for he did not hesitate to use the vilest means to attain his end.

Being founded on deceit and falsification the system of Luther must lead to evil, to corruption, to unbridled license in sexual relations. Lutheranism tended to this and has brought on that indifference in these matters from which modern society is hopelessly suffering. On page 360 Denifle gives a table of sins, composed by Luther in 1530, which shows how low and detestable the animal man can become.

The last part of the book (pp. 374–860) introduces us to the real genesis and development of this condition in the soul of Luther. It describes at the same time the genesis of theoretical Lutheranism, the teaching on justification. For the thought and the act went hand in hand, and the intellect kept pace with morality. In this study Denifle utilizes principally Luther's commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Here the author gives evidence of the greatness of his intellect and the strength of his reasoning powers. From this exposition modern philosophers might learn what keenness of mind the Aristotelian and scholastic method can develop. Step by

step the Dominican follows Luther and proves that he was but a poor student of philosophy and theology, who was unacquainted with true scholasticism, but knew it only in the nominalistic form of an Occam and a Biel. He calls to task the Protestant writers of Luther's life and work for their lack of method, their unscientific study, their inherited prejudice, and especially for their ignorance of Catholic teaching and of scholasticism. They present doctrines as specifically Lutheran, which existed and were generally accepted long before Luther.

Denifle pictures the fall of Luther about as follows. Anger and still more pride had long existed in the monk. The turning point in his life and teaching falls in the year 1515. The demon, pride, led him to imagine, that of himself, with his natural powers alone, he could keep the moral law. In the consciousness of his strength he neglected prayer or performed it only externally. Thus it came to pass that soon it seemed to him impossible that man could resist and overcome passion. He was conquered in his fight against concupiscence. Practical experience led to the formulation of the theoretical principle: concupiscence can in no way be resisted. From this all the other distinctly Lutheran doctrines followed with a logical necessity, viz., that God imposes upon us the impossible; that original sin corrupted man substantially, and destroyed his free will; that concupiscence and original sin are identical, equally culpable and irresistible; that only Christ can fulfill the law; that the Savior merely covers over our sins; that sin remains in us in all that we will and do; that we can be justified only through the firm faith, that Christ has fulfilled the law for us; that the mediation of the Church, the necessity of good works, are but human inventions.

What effect did this principle of justification have on practical life? Denifle pictures it in the chapter entitled, Luther's Christian Character. It is the odor of a decaying body that emanates from these lines. From his writings, from his surroundings and private life, from the obscenity in his language and illustrations, the character of Luther is drawn. Never before has the saintly Luther, in whom many have thought to behold something divine, been described so fully, so vividly and so terribly. And all is most critically done. Even if we admit

that some of Luther's traits were the result of the time in which he lived, and could be found as well in his Catholic contemporaries, nowhere else can we find so much filth and dirt. Continually the agitator appealed to the passions and the lowest motives. He endeavored to convince his followers not with reason and argument but with vulgar abuse. That such argumentation could gain followers, could lead princes and people into the deep abyss, that, as Doellinger expressed it, the mind of the German nation was in his hand, as the musical instrument is in the hands of the artist, is a pregnant sign of the sad moral condition of Germany in his time.

It has been objected that in studying Luther from his writings Denifle insisted too strongly on a literal interpretation. We quote again from the writer in the *Dublin Review:*

"Thus far the work of the learned Tyrolese Dominican is worthy of all praise, but it is to be regretted that in treating of the darkest and most culpable side of Luther's character he did not confine himself to such faults as can be proved by reference to chapter and verse. When he repeats mere accusations that have never been verified, we feel that he does an injustice not only to Luther, but to an otherwise valuable and competent work. Thus, for instance, loose and unedifying expressions are produced as evidence that Luther was addicted to habitual drunkenness—a matter that is so entirely improbable that it is not worth consideration—and in another place (p. 293) Father Denifle takes for granted that his intercourse with the band of runaway nuns, one of whom he afterwards married, was distinctly immoral. Melanchton's celebrated letter of June, 1525, certainly throws a questionable light on their intimacy, but nothing can be definitely proved from this letter, or from Luther's own expressions, except that the connexion gave rise to an unseemly and ambiguous joke. Other evidence concerning the affair there is none and it is therefore a pity to have unnecessarily roused the antagonism of modern Lutherans by laying unwarrantable stress upon it."[1]

It is true that Luther must not always be taken too seriously and that many of the objectionable expressions were peculiar to the times. But the low conception Luther had of life, the principles he promulgated show his tendency to excess and immorality even more forcibly than the letter of Melanchthon,

[1] *Dublin Review*, April, 1904, p. 298.

or the citations from Luther's writings. Some have dared to besmirch the memory of the great Apostle of the Gentiles by styling Luther a true disciple of St. Paul. But how different was the language of the Apostle, though he felt the sting of the flesh and the law in his members inclining to evil. Many have called Luther the great son of Augustine, because in his early life this Father indulged his passions; but St. Augustine asserted his will power, abandoned his sinful life, advanced in virtue and died a great saint. Luther continually sank lower and at the end of his life had reached the depth of corruption. The letters of some of the cardinals and prelates of that dangerous transition period are anything but edifying, they manifest a faith tainted with gentile humanism, but how gentle, refined and christian are the views of these worldly men, when compared with "the rough Saxon countryman," as the late Professor Kraus was wont to style the Wittenberg monk.

Denifle has given the character of Luther a blow from which it cannot recover. It is not probable that a single book will change a mistaken world-view, and perhaps but few Protestants will abandon their present position to acknowledge their duty of returning to the mother church. But three things have been demonstrated so clearly that they will have to be recognized as facts. First, Luther's heart was entirely possessed by passion and lust. Secondly, In discussions and polemics Luther used false weapons and was directed by dishonest motives. Thirdly, Protestant theologians, in speaking of the founder of their religion, have not shown us the real Luther, but have intentionally or unintentionally misrepresented him.

Denifle's description of the manner of the change in Luther is substantially correct. A little reflection will reveal the true reason for his separation from the church, and moreover that the movement which he inaugurated was least of all a reformation. The famous declaration of Frederick the Great concerning the motives which originated Protestantism must be corrected to read, that in Germany as well as in England passion led to it. That the perversion went from the moral order into the logical, from practice into doctrine is no longer an

hypothesis, but an unavoidable postulate, necessary to explain the facts without which history must remain a riddle.

It seems somewhat strange that Denifle should make pride the cause and source of Luther's downfall. No doubt this sin was abnormally developed in the monk of Wittenberg and helped to shape his downward course, but an intellectual sin could hardly lead to the lust and passion and corruption found in the later Luther. Perhaps here too we can ask, "Où est la femme?" In the later Luther, sensuality is developed to the highest degree. He continually pictures the impossibility of resisting this passion. He may have experienced in himself the effects of an unwilling celibacy such as he frequently described them. Luther has nowhere said that such was the case, and this want of positive proof may have deterred the critical Dominican from accepting the supposition that sins of the flesh and not pride were the principal factors in Luther's downfall. Such a confession however could not be expected, for even the fallen Luther retained a little shame that would deter him from acknowledging this weakness.

The great work of Denifle cannot fail to affect every one who reads with the heart as well as with the intellect, who considers the past as a man, and not merely with the eye of abstract science. The true and faithful description of the great tragedy of the sixteenth century must make a deep and lasting impression. The fall of a strong character, such as Luther undoubtedly was in the beginning, shows vividly how the catering to a passion will bring gradual ruin and destruction to the most beautiful soul. Shortly before his fall Luther could write this rule of life: "If a young man no longer has fervor and devotion, but follows his own way without thinking of God, I can scarcely believe that he is no longer a man. For since either the flesh or spirit must live, it becomes necessary that either the flesh or the spirit must burn. There is no safer victory over the desires of the senses than a devout turning of the heart to God. For if the spirit is enkindled the flesh will soon become cold, and vice versa" (Denifle, p. 10).

The events of the sixteenth century brought disunion in religious thought into entire nations for many generations; even at present, though we have a more perfect civilization,

mankind is laboring under this unnatural schism. When reflecting on the historical consequences of the Reformation the Christian soul feels sorrow and compassion, and at the same time is filled with disgust and aversion against the author of the destructive work. It is extremely sad to behold erring victims, who have been trained from their youth to venerate the reformer, spend their strength in abusing the Church that alone can give life. All such will of course condemn the work of Father Denifle, will abhor the writer, who undertook with pure and noble intentions to describe truthfully and faithfully the personality of Luther and to enlighten them concerning the origin and nature of Lutheranism.

JOHN G. SCHMIDT.

ACADEMY OF CHURCH HISTORY,
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

THE LITERATURE OF THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION.

Though Nero was the first of the Roman Emperors who concerned himself with the subject of Christianity, he exceeded all the others in the ferocity with which he strove to annihilate it, and as a consequence he stands forth in history and tradition as the anti-Christ—the most brutal of the oppressors of the early Church. Very few episodes in the history of Christianity can compare in pathos and tragic interest with this first conflict between the nascent Christian church and the pagan Roman state. But apart from the interest which attaches to the incident itself as an exhibition of human suffering in the cause of religion, it raises many questions which must remain unsolved until some problems connected with the Neronian persecution are definitely settled. It was the first open rupture between the Empire and the Church, the subsequent relations of which must be regarded in the light in which their first attitude is viewed; it has an important bearing on the exegesis of many of the books of the New Testament, but above and beyond these it had far-reaching consequences in calling into play those distinctive virtues which subsequently entered so largely into Christian life and discipline and by the exercise of which the outcome of the conflict was finally decided.

Because of the remoteness of the period and the fact that Christianity had as yet no contemporary historians, the difficulties arising from scanty and sometimes scarcely intelligible materials, which are experienced by all who attempt to write the history of the first three centuries, are immeasurably multiplied. The principal witness for the event is Tacitus, who in the forty-fourth chapter of the fifteenth book of his annals, after he has described in detail the conflagration of July, 64 A. D., which reduced the greater portion of the city to ashes, goes on to relate the brewing fury of the people when the suspicion was noised abroad that they had been rendered homeless by the emperor himself. In terror at having pro-

voked the anger and violence of the mob, the trembling sovereign ordered sacrifices and propitiatory services and when these failed:

"In order to put an end to the rumor Nero substituted culprits to be punished with the most exquisite tortures—certain persons detested because of their abominations whom the common people called Christians, a name derived from Christ who in the reign of Tiberius was put to death by the Procurator Pontius Pilate. Temporarily checked the pernicious superstition broke out again not only in Judea, its original home, but even in the city itself where all horrible and shameful things gravitate and are practised. Those who were first arrested confessed, and on the information thus elicited an immense multitude was convicted not so much on the charge of incendiarism as for hatred of the human race. Their deaths were turned into mockery, some were clad in the skins of wild beasts to be torn to pieces by dogs, others were nailed to the cross or burned at the stake, and after nightfall others were made to serve as living torches. Nero lent his gardens for the spectacle and gave circus games, even driving a chariot himself and mixing with the people in his coachman's dress. But although the Christians were outlaws and deserving of the severest penalties the people pitied them because they were destroyed not for the public good but to glut the cruelty of one man."[1]

The only other classical writer who mentions the persecution is Suetonius. In the sixteenth chapter of his life of Nero he mentions among some police regulations introduced by that emperor the punishment of the Christians, "a class of people addicted to a novel and malignant superstition."[2]

[1] Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quæsitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii quam odo humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, multi crucibus adfixi aut flamma usti, aliique ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni lumnis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. Unde quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica, sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur. Ann. XV, 44.

[2] Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficæ.

The Christian writings of the first century are filled with allusions to the subject of persecution,[3] but there is only one of them which is generally considered to refer to the massacre under Nero. In his Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Clement of Rome, speaking of the sad condition of the Corinthian Church because of envy and jealousy and its consequences in the past as well as in the present, continues:[4]

"But not to dwell upon ancient examples, let us come to the most recent spiritual heroes. Let us take the noble examples furnished in our own generation. Through envy and jealousy the greatest and most righteous pillars (of the Church) have been persecuted and put to death. Let us set before our eyes the illustrious apostles. Peter, through unrighteous envy endured not one or two, but numerous labors: and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him. Owing to envy, Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity, compelled to flee and stoned. After preaching both in the East and West, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and come to the extreme limit of the West and suffered martyrdom under the prefects. Thus was he removed from the world, and went into the holy place, having proved himself a striking example of patience.

"To these men who spent their lives in the practice of holiness, there is to be added a great multitude of the elect, who, having through envy endured many indignities and tortures, furnished us with a most excellent example. Through envy these women, the Danaids and Dircæ, being persecuted, after they had suffered terrible and unspeakable torments, finished the course of their faith with steadfastness, and though weak in body, received a noble reward."

Nero's name is not mentioned in this paragraph. But the circumstances in which it was written, the time it was composed, and the place occupied by its author render it futile to contend that he referred to any outbreak other than the massacre under Nero of which he himself was a witness.

It is not until the middle of the second century that we find in Christian writings an express reference to Nero as the author of a persecution. In an apology addressed to the em-

[3] E. g., the First Epistle of St. Peter, The Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

[4] Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, cc. 5–6.

peror Marcus Aurelius, Melito bishop of Sardis speaks of Nero and Domitian as having become at the suggestion of certain wicked persons, persecutors of the Christians.[5]

These four are the only references in early authors which can claim the merit of being independent sources for the history of the Neronian persecution. It is mentioned frequently in the writings of a later date, which, however, add nothing to what can be learned from the first four.

Tertullian speaks of Nero's cruelty to the followers of Christ without seeming to infer that this was prompted by any motives other than pagan hate. In the apology he says:

"Consult your histories: you will there find that Nero was the first who assailed with the imperial sword the Christian sect, making progress especially at Rome. But we glory in having our condemnation hallowed by the hostility of such a wretch. For any one who knows him can understand that not except as being of singular excellence did anything bring on it Nero's condemnation."[6]

In another place he assigns to this persecution the death of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul.

"We read the lives of the Cæsars: at Rome, Nero was the first who stained with blood the rising faith. Then is Peter girt by another, when he is made fast to the cross. Then does Paul obtain a birth suited to Roman citizenship, when in Rome he springs to life again ennobled by martyrdom."[7]

Eusebius,[8] Sulpicius Severus,[9] Orosius,[10] Lactantius,[11] Jerome[12] and the spurious Seneca[13] all refer to the Neronian persecution, but they are important only as witnesses of a later tradition, with the exception of Sulpicius Severus who has reproduced in part the text of Tacitus, showing thereby, that at least in his time it differed slightly if at all from the version we possess.

---

[5] Eusebius, H. E., IV, 26.
[6] Apol., c. 5.
[7] Scorpiace, c. 15.
[8] H. E., II, 25.
[9] Chron. II, 29.
[10] Adv. pag. hist., VII, 5.
[11] De mort. persec., II.
[12] De viris inlust., III, 5.
[13] Ep. 12.

It would be a difficult and profitless task to trace the literary parentage of these later writings. They make clear, however, the fact that there was a conflict between the Church and the State in the days of Nero, and that in the minds of the early Christians that emperor enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being the proto-persecutor. The questions which nowadays center around the Neronian persecution are not connected so much with this latter charge, which in itself would not confer any preëminence on Nero as a foe of Christianity. It is asked whether the chapter in Tacitus on which we rely entirely for our knowledge of the details of the massacre ought to be regarded as genuine, and if so to what extent are these first martyrs to be considered victims of imperial malice.

This famous passage in the "Annals" contains only 138 words, but so numerous are the discussions which it has provoked that there is no exaggeration in saying it has given rise to an equal number of theories. The final solution of the matter has not yet been reached, and it is probable that until more light has been obtained by further research, and prejudice wholly eliminated from the controversy, new additions will be constantly made to the already voluminous mass of literature which the subject has called forth. The history of some of the more important phases of the discussion is not without interest, and it will be of assistance in classifying the different opinions already expressed, which will be discussed separately, when, in another paper, we come to examine the points at issue more in detail.

It is evident that Nero's reputation as the anti-Christ, a name freely bestowed on him in early Christian times, stands or falls for modern minds with the genuineness of the text of Tacitus. The first who called it into question, not however with a view of holding a brief for Nero, was the learned Jesuit Harduin.[14] His theory that nearly all the writings of the classical authors were forgeries of the Middle Ages would have settled the question for all time had it anything more to recommend it than the charm of novelty. An entirely different spirit animated the Englishman Gibbon who detracts from the force of Tacitus' narration by saying:

[14] Chronologia, Paris, 1697.

"At the distance of sixty years, it was the duty of the annalist to adopt the narratives of contemporaries; but it was natural for the philosopher to indulge himself in the description of the origin, the progress and the character of the new sect, not so much according to the knowledge or prejudices of the age of Nero, as according to those of the time of Hadrian."[15]

A similar line of argument led Voltaire to ridicule the idea that the Neronian persecution was anything more than the abandonment of a few unfortunate Christian fanatics to the fury of the Roman mob.[16] Bruno Bauer took the same course by declaring that Tacitus incorporated in his description of the times of Nero the ideas which were current when he wrote more than half a century later.[17] The manifest bias and special pleading of these writers deprived their opinions of all value as the utterances of impartial historians.

In the year 1885, a professed advocate and apologist for Nero appeared in the person of P. Hochart, who undertook the task of clearing the reputation of Nero from the stain of being a murderer of the Christians.[18] He frankly confessed that the passage in Tacitus affixed this stigma in the most unmistakable terms and consequently directed his energies to proving that it was an interpolation. He was led to adopt this course as he confesses, by the reflection that all the writings of Greek and Roman antiquity were preserved through the industry of monkish hands, and that consequently it was evident they must have suffered mutilation whenever they had anything to say on the subject of Christianity. He could find only one expression, *Tiberio imperitante,* which might be regarded as foreign to the style of Tacitus and candidly admits that there is no external evidence to convict any mediæval copyist of forgery. He considered, however, that the sentiments expressed and the facts which are related afforded sufficient ground for concluding that the chapter could not be attributed to Tacitus, but ought rather to be regarded as the work of a Benedictine of Monte Cassino, or of some other Christian scribe. The philosophy of such a forgery, he declared, was

[15] C. 16, ed. Bury, vol. II, p. 87.
[16] Essai sur les moeurs, c. 8.
[17] "Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahr.," p. 342.
[18] "Etudes au sujet de la persécution des Chrétiens sous Néron," Paris, 1885.

evident. Christian apologists would find it difficult to reconcile the miraculous events in Our Lord's life and work with the silence of pagan authors. It would be almost impossible for them to defend such things on historical grounds, if no Roman or Greek or even Jewish writer ever mentioned the Christians or their sufferings or miracles and to relieve themselves from such an embarrassing situation, it was necessary for them to invent history, to put the pen in the hands of historians and legislators, and thus repair the ignorance or forgetfulness of the early writers.

The work of the forger was evident from the fact that the supposed narrative of Tacitus was at variance with well-established facts of history. Hochart attempted to show that Nero's popularity remained undiminished after the conflagration, and that consequently the persecution had no raison-d'être. The name "Christian," he declared, was not, and could not have been the designation of any class of persons in Rome in Nero's time. The disciples of Jesus were not known by this title until after the epoch in which Tacitus wrote, and it was impossible that he could have spoken of them as such. Hochart realized that the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan in the early part of the second century was fatal to nearly all his theories, but the obstacle caused him no anxiety. With equal zeal he devoted several chapters to prove that not only was the entire tenth book of the letters of Pliny a forgery, but that Pliny himself had never been governor of Bithynia. He contended that the forger was ignorant of Roman customs in imagining that such extra-legal measures could be resorted to as a wholesale massacre, that it was a physical impossibility that living men could be made to burn as torches, and that neither the Jews nor Christians were sufficiently numerous in Rome to attract the attention of the Emperor. All these conclusions he contended were justified and strengthened by the absence of any reference to the Neronian persecution in the writers of the period.

This work of Hochart, first published in a series of articles in the *Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux*,[19] at once

[19] "La Persécution des Chrétiens sous Néron," *Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux*, 1884, no. 2.

provoked a reply from M. C. Douais, a professor at the Institut Catholique of Toulouse.[20] In an article published the same year, Douais selected twenty-three propositions from Hochart, which he considered would fairly represent the mind of that author and the conclusions which he wished to establish. As a preliminary to his reply Douais calls attention to Hochart's designation of Tertullian as a "prélat" and an "évêque Carthaginois" as indicative of his attainments in the field of Christian antiquity. He next points out Hochart's errors of method in attempting to decide by means of abstract reasoning whether Nero did or did not cause the city to be burned. He does not concern himself with the solution of this question and confines his remarks to proving from positive references that Nero was *suspected* of being the incendiary. This was sufficient to make clear the motive which prompted him to persecute the Christians.

The insurmountable difficulties in reconciling the passage of Tacitus with well-attested facts of history which led Hochart to the conclusion that it was the work of mediæval hands are gone over in detail and shown to be nothing but discrepancies between the text of Tacitus and some arbitrary standards which Hochart imagined that author should have followed in the composition of his history. Thus the omission of the names of the judges before whom the Christians were tried, the vagueness of the phrase *multitudo ingens,* and the entire set of circumstances surrounding the executions are shown to be perfectly in accord with the usual style of Tacitus. In the same painstaking spirit, all the arguments of Hochart are successively examined. With less detail but with more cogency, Douais shows that far from contradicting the narrative of Tacitus, the entire history of the period substantiated and confirmed it. As the purpose of Hochart was to contradict every statement made in that passage, the refutation had to be equally minute and consequently the line of argument followed by Douais resolved itself into a piece of constructive criticism, dealing with each point in detail.

[20] "Le Persécution des Chrétiens de Rome en l'année 64," *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1885, p. 337. An article on the same subject from the pen of M. Gaston Boissier, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, March 26, 1886.

The argument regarding the silence of the pagan authors, on which M. Hochart laid such stress, is especially cogent. The Toulouse professor in a few pithy paragraphs shows that none of these authors had any reason whatsoever for referring to the Neronian persecution. There was no possibility of denying to Hochart's work the merits of ingeniousness and painstaking audacity, but in a work of such length and entering so much into detail it was not surprising that he occasionally overshot the mark. All these weak points were quickly seized by Douais, who by counter arguments and by exposing the weakness in his opponent's theories not only rejected his contentions, but showed that the passage itself afforded strong evidence that it could not have come from the hand of a forger. Its tenor was not flattering to the Christians: it afforded no new weapons to controversialists, and in nearly every case where it might have served the purpose of Christian apologists, stronger and more conclusive arguments were forthcoming from other sources.

So firmly convinced was Hochart of the justice of his contention that he abandoned his first position, and, because of fresh evidence which he thought he had discovered, he issued a new book in which he attempted to prove that all the works attributed to Tacitus were spurious and that they came from the pen of Poggio Bracciolini, a fifteenth century humanist.[21] This theory which was not new and had already been examined and rejected was submitted to a very thorough examination by S. Gatti in an Italian review,[23] without however, convincing Hochart that it was untenable.[24]

The patent pleading and manifest bias of Hochart and his palpable effort to make history subservient to prejudice never drew any adherents to his cause. In the writings of Renan, Ramsey, Mommsen, Lightfoot, Aubé, Keim, Allard, and other writers on the persecutions the theory propounded by Hochart is passed over in silence or referred to as an unsuccessful

[21] "De l'authenticité des Annales et des Histoires de Tacite," Paris, 1890.

[22] The same opinion in regard to the spuriousness of the "Annals" had already been expressed by an English writer. Ross, "Tacitus and Bracciolini, The Annals Forged in the Fifteenth Century," London, 1878. For a criticism of this work cf. *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1878.

[23] "Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto," Oct., Dec., 1890.

[24] "Nouvelles Considérations," Paris, 1894.

attempt to settle a difficult question. In a masterly work published in 1888, C. Arnold[25] examined the principal questions which had arisen regarding the Neronian persecution prior to his time; besides showing that the belief in such an occurrence formed an integral part of early Christian tradition, he labored diligently to elucidate what Tacitus says, and to establish the principal facts in the case. The result of his work is thrown into ten propositions in which he concludes that Tacitus was not interpolated, that the Christians were not punished because of their confession, that Nero made use of the hatred felt for the Christians because of the calumnies which were in circulation against them, and that the Jews were in no way guilty of having denounced the Christians. The number of Christians who were put to death he considers was exaggerated by Tacitus, and he rejects entirely the supposition that either Tacitus or Suetonius had confounded the Christians and Jews. He maintains that the persecution was local, that it never extended beyond the limits of the city of Rome, and shows that the account given by Tacitus is entirely independent of the letter of Pliny.

The discussion took a new and more acrid phase in the year 1899 because of the extraordinary popularity attained by Sienkiewicz's novel, "Quo Vadis."[26] The graphic description which that work contained of the sufferings of the Christian martyrs aroused the ire of Signor Gaetano Nigro, who attempted to show that Nero was entirely guiltless of the charge of incendiarism, and that if any accusations were directed against the Christians they came most probably from Poppæa's Jewish entourage.[27] In the beginning of the year 1900 Carlo Pascal, a professor at the Liceo Manzoni in Milan,[28] published a short pamphlet in which he contended that the Christians who were first arrested confessed to the crime of incendiarism and implicated many others of their coreligionists in the same charge. These latter when arrested would not deny their faith, but in contra-distinction to the

[25] "Die Neronische Christenverfolgung," Leipzig, 1888.

[26] The history of this controversy will be found in an article by A. Profumo in the *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, Vol. VI, 1900, p. 345.

[27] "Nerone ed il Cristianesimo," *Rivista d'Italia*, nos. 8–9, 1899.

[28] "L'incendio di Roma ed i primi Cristiani." Milan, 1900.

others they refused to acknowledge that they were in any way connected with the conflagration. In the eyes of the pagans Christianity was synonymous with that other vague crime, *odium generis humani*, and the confession of one implied guilt of the other. Pascal rejected the testimony of all the other pagan authors on the question of the fire as being of no historical value. In a reply which appeared shortly afterwards Orazio Marucchi[29] called attention to the fact that the crime of incendiarism was merely secondary in the mind of Tacitus, and that in all the anti-Christian literature of the first three centuries, and among all the charges levelled at the Christians they were never accused of having destroyed Rome. Had such a question been raised some echo of it would be found in the works of Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Origen, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, or Arnobius.

Two other pamphlets on the subject appeared at almost the same time.[30] One by Professor Benigni in which attention is called to the fact that Tacitus makes use of the word *subdere*, "fraudulent substitution" and of *conjuncti sunt* which the author considered was the correct reading instead of *convicti sunt*. He also points out that in the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan there is no evidence of any spirit of revenge or desire to take reprisals for the burning of the capital of the Empire. He shows conclusively that the Christians themselves had no consciousness of having wreaked vengeance on the corrupt Romans, or of having aided, through the July conflagration, in the fulfilment of the prophecy that the world would be destroyed by fire.

These two contributors to the controversy found so many arguments against Pascal's position that he found it necessary to publish a new edition of his work in which he reiterated what he had said before and strengthened his conclusions by new evidence.[31] About this time a learned Jew, Achille Coen,[32] undertook the defence of the people of his race whom

[29] "Popolo Romano," no. 245.

[30] Benigni, "I Cristiani e l'incendio di Roma," Rome, 1900. Vincenzo De Crescenzo, "Un Difensore di Nerone," Naples, 1900.

[31] "L'Incendio di Roma ed i primi cristiani," 2a ed., con molte aggiunte, Turin, 1900.

[32] "La persecuzione neroniana dei cristiani." In the publication, *Atene e Roma*, n. 21–23, Florence, 1900.

many of the writers made equally responsible with Nero for massacre of the Christians. He expressed his disbelief in the opinion that Poppæa was a Jewish proselyte and gave good reasons for his theory that the Jews were not in any way responsible for Nero's attack on the Christians. He was very sparing of his denunciations and exonerated Nero as well as the Christians from the charge of incendiarism. His theory of the massacre was new and extremely plausible. His argument centered principally around the phrase used by Tacitus *"per flagitia invisos."* If the hatred felt for the Christians had arisen because they were suspected of having set the city afire, Tacitus would have used the word *scelus* or *crimen.* He calls attention to the fact that the persecution of the Christians commenced after the sacrifices of expiation had been offered to the angry deities in order to lull the fears of the vengeful people. There were two classes of Christians in Rome, Judæo-Christians, and Gentile Christians; these latter would, of course, take no part in the sacrifices, and as a consequence would be very likely to fall under the suspicion of the pagans for having provoked the *vendetta* of the gods. The suggestion to cast the blame on the Christians in this case would come not from the Jews but from the pagans. Coen willingly admitted that this latter theory was altogether dependent on the assumption that Tacitus had followed the strict chronological order. The discussion found an echo in the daily papers and called forth another article from Pascal in which he restated his charge that the Christians had caused the conflagration.[33]

At this juncture a writer who signed himself "Vindex" published a book in which he examined with extreme minuteness the various phases of the question proposed by Pascal.[34] This was the most learned and exhaustive treatise that had appeared, and besides being a thorough refutation of Pascal it added considerable light to many obscure points that the other authors had passed over in silence. The author showed that there was no evidence of the vengeful spirit among the

[33] This feature of the discussion is described at length by Profumo, p. 350 sq.
[34] "Difesa dei primi Cristiani e Martiri di Roma accusati di avere incendiata la Città," Pustet, Rome, 1901.

Christians spoken of by Pascal and that in the time of Nero the belief was current that the Emperor's emissaries had been detected in the act of setting the city on fire. Great stress was laid on a passage in the elder Pliny (Hist. Nat., X, VII, 12) as being the testimony of a man who was a contemporary and possessed of an intimate knowledge of Nero's life and deeds. A very elaborate commentary on each word and phrase of the famous passage in Tacitus was given to sustain the traditional views of Christian writers on the Neronian persecution. All Pascal's difficulties are explained and a very successful reconstruction of the history of the period showed that there was no reason to exonerate Nero from the charges made by Tacitus. Besides showing that the Christians were neither factious nor rebellious and that they had in no way deserved the penalties to which they were condemned, the author inclined to the belief that even in the time of Nero a law was passed which made the Christians outlaws, not for crimes against the common law but for the mere profession of their religion.

Quite recently two other writers, Attilio Profumo[35] and Paul Allard, have essayed to throw new light on the subject. M. Allard, who is so well known for his work on the persecutions, shows that there was no foundation for the charge that the Christians were possessed of the idea that they were fulfilling the gospel precepts in causing the destruction of the city, and that there was not the slightest foundation in history for the charge that they had put such strange notions into execution.

This short summary shows that the question in regard to the Neronian persecution centers principally around the narrative of Tacitus. Hochart's attempt to expunge it from the pages of history failed so lamentably that the conflict has been reduced to a mere matter of interpretation—whether the words are to be taken in their direct and literal signification, or whether Christian historians and apologists have not invested them with a content and meaning that was entirely

[35] "L'Incendio Neroniano ed I Christiani," Rome, 1903.

[36] "Les Chrétiens ont-ils incendié Rome sous Néron," Paris, 1904. See also Boissier, "L'Incendie de Rome et la Première Persécution Chrétienne," *Journal des Savants*, March, 1902.

foreign to the mind of the author himself. In a subsequent paper we shall attempt to show that the narrative of Tacitus was perfectly in accord with the historical features of the period, and that the information and exactness of the author give his words the value of those of a contemporary writer.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

THE CHAIR OF AMERICAN HISTORY.[1]

On April 13, at four o'clock in the afternoon, acting as representative of the Order, Supreme Knight Edward L. Hearn presented to the Catholic University of America at Washington the fund collected for the establishment of a Chair of American History at that institution. The gift was accepted by the Chancellor, James Cardinal Gibbons.

The event was the occasion of a great demonstration of the strength, wealth and Catholic fealty of the Knights of Columbus. A great concourse of knights, their friends and families had assembled, and the crowd on the University grounds in front of McMahon Hall, where the ceremonies took place, numbered about 10,000. Enthusiasm ruled. The speeches were received with constant applause, that of the Cardinal being greeted at its close by a round of cheers led by the Supreme Knight himself. Prominent in the assemblage were bishops and archbishops of the country, the leaders of the Order and eminent citizens connected or in sympathy with us from all over the country.

His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, arrayed in the scarlet robes of his office, occupied the place of honor on the platform, and about him were grouped the hierarchy of America. At the right of the Cardinal, facing the audience, were Archbishop Elder, of Cincinnati; the Rt. Rev. P. J. Garrigan, Bishop of Sioux City; Mgr. O'Connell, Rector of the Catholic University; and on the Cardinal's left Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia; Archbishop Farley, of New York; Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, and Archbishop Keane, of Dubuque.

Other noted priests on the platform were:

Archbishop Glennan, of St. Louis; Bishop Spalding, of Peoria; Bishop Horstmann, of Cleveland; Bishop Maes, of Covington; Bishop Foley, of Detroit; Archbishop Chapelle, of New Orleans; Archbishop Riordan, of San Francisco; Rt.

[1] The following account of the proceedings is taken from the *Columbiad* (May, 1904), with the thanks of the editors for the courteous permission to reprint.

Rev. Matthew Harkins, Bishop of Providence, and Rev. D. J. Stafford, of Washington.

Representing the faculty of the University were:

Dr. Grannan, Dr. Griffin, Dr. Robinson, Dr. Shea, Professor Pace, Professor Shanahan, Professor Egan, Professor Hyvernat, Professor E. L. Greene, Professor Maguire, Professor Bolling, Professor Melody, Professor Neill, Professor Zahn, Professor Hassett, Professor Healey, Professor Shields, Professor Aiken and Professor Creagh.

Knights were present in large numbers from all over the country. New England sent a large delegation, Canada was well represented, crowds came from New York, Pennsylvania and the states nearer the District of Columbia; Chicago, the central sections, the West, even the Pacific Coast sent representatives. The assemblage emphasized the national nature of our Order, and the enthusiasm witnessed the unanimity of feeling prevailing.

The hospitality of the Washington Councils towards the many visitors was untiring. Receptions, smoke-talks and entertainments took place every evening—most of the delegations remained two or three days, and every attention and courtesy was shown the visitors. The presentation took place on April 13; the next day the President received the members of the order in a private reception. Later in the afternoon the Apostolic Mission House was dedicated, at which many members of the Order were present.

The check is the largest ever made, being ten feet long and four feet wide. After it has passed through the ordinary course of business it will be returned to the National Office and will then be hung in the great hall of the new National Headquarters in New Haven. The names of the contributing Councils are engrossed on the check, arranged according to the proportionate rank of their contributions. The complete sum collected was $55,633.79. After deducting the slight sum expended on the check, etc., the balance of the money was turned over to the University to purchase the beginnings of a special library for the new Chair.

The speeches appear below in the order of their delivery:

INVOCATION BY ARCHBISHOP RYAN OF PHILADELPHIA.

Eternal and Most Sacred God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we adore Thee! We come to offer of our substance to Thee; to give for the education of Thy children, that it may in future redound to Thy Glory; and we say to Thee, O Omnipotent Father, that Thou shouldst send Thy benediction upon this great country; and upon this great representative institution send forth wisdom, that sitteth by Thy throne, that it may illumine the intellects and warm the hearts and unify the spirits that shall here learn to perpetuate the great benediction which Thou hast bestowed on man.

O Eternal Father, in the words, and by the Merits of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, we lift up our hearts and faces to Thee, and say: Our Father, Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

And Thou, Second Person of that Holy and Everlasting Trinity; Light of Light; True God of True God; Begotten, not made; consubstantial to the Father by Whom all things were made; Who, for our salvation became incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Blessed Virgin Mary; Who was made Man and granted to us the blessing of Thy Redemption, be with us in all our days; be with our families; bless us, O Lord and Savior!

And Thou, Spirit of God, Who proceedeth from the Father and Son; Who, together with the Father and Son art adored and glorified; O Spirit of God, give to this hour Thy Light and Grace and Hope; and perpetually give to those who have to teach here the illumination that is necessary for their personal knowledge, and for the sanctification and education of Thy children.

And thou, too, O Holy Mother of God; Seat of Wisdom; Spouse of the Spirit; Queen of the clergy; do thou kneel at the throne of the Blessed Trinity; pray to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, that the gift that is here offered may be accepted by the Most High, and that in turn He may send down from on High His choicest blessings.

SPEECH OF WELCOME BY THE VERY REV. RECTOR.

Knights of Columbus: I am happy to welcome you to the halls of the Catholic University of America. You come here as friends, and in you we recognize a most distinguished body of gentlemen and citizens, assembled from all sections of this great republic; and in

your corporate organization and in the standing of each individual of your membership, we regard you as one of the most noble and most energetic outcomings of the Catholic Church in America in modern times.

You have always been friends, but to-day you come as more: you come as the patrons of this crowning work of the Catholic educational system in these United States of America. You come here to-day to enlarge the sphere of this Pontifical Institution and to open here a foundation of learning whence students from all parts of this land, and for ages to come, may draw knowledge of this country's history from an uncontaminated source. This noble and useful work, I am sure, must be a motive of joy to the soul of him who first gave this country to the domain of history and whose name you have inscribed in honor on the banners of your organization.

You have founded here a chair for the teaching of American History, and starting from to-day one of the first deeds that the Muse of History must record is the foundation of this very chair. You have erected, besides, within the walls of this institution a monument to your organization that will tell to ages to come, while this granite abides, what sentiments of faith, of patriotism, and of culture, animated the Knights of Columbus of the present generation.

The University receives this endowment with gratitude, and pledges itself to administer with fidelity your sacred trust, remembering always to teach, in this capital of the nation, the history of that land which was discovered by Columbus, and which ever since has been so dearly loved and bravely defended by all those who, following in his wake, have come to these shores, bringing in their hearts the faith that animated the heart of Columbus.

Presentation Address of the Supreme Knight.

It is a proud and distinguished honor for any layman, or body of laymen, to be permitted the privilege of association in so distinguished an assemblage as this; and the honor and distinction are commensurately enhanced by the esteemed favor of active participation in the events of the day.

This occasion is memorable indeed, not because of the particular transaction about to be completed, but rather because of the great potentiality of the act for future good, and because of the unshaken faith we have in the realization of all the expected benefits therefrom.

This has been long looked forward to with pleasurable anticipation by more than one hundred thousand devoted sons of Holy Church, more than one hundred thousand advocates of justice, right and truth,

and we sincerely believe it will be regarded with sentiments of justifiable pride by all Catholics for all time.

I shall not impose upon you by any lengthy reference to the purpose of this gathering, for you are all conversant with the motive that brings us together in the nation's capital at this time. We are here to present to the Catholic University of America, in the name of the Knights of Columbus, the sum of $50,000.00, with which to establish in the University a Chair of American History. The reasons why such an institution should exist are direct, imperious and valid; and they are, I believe, well set forth in the trenchant words of his Lordship, the Right Reverend Bishop of Sioux City, Bishop Garrigan, in his first address to the Knights of Columbus, in March, 1899. In that eloquent address, which will never pass from the memory of those fortunate enough to hear it, His Lordship said: "We ask you to join hands with us in correcting the many errors which have been spread abroad for the last hundred years, here and elsewhere, about our Church, about our Faith and about our People; to clear away the clouds that have been hanging over us for the last century, and bring the truth to the light of day, so that all men may place us where we belong."

The arguments for the establishment of a Chair of American History in a Catholic University are sound and manifold, and it is a matter of sincere regret with me, to know that I cannot set them forth as clearly and as forcibly as they deserve.

The reasons why the Catholics of America should take such a step grow daily more apparent; but there are certain appropriate reasons why the Knights of Columbus, representing in name and principle the great Admiral who first brought this continent to the attention of the then known world, should attempt to establish in the minds of all mankind, surrounded with the broad light of completeness and truth, the influence of the Catholic Church on the growth and development of this continent.

For the action of the Catholic Church per se, we can prove continuity and independence. For the action of the Catholic Church in and towards the Western Hemisphere, we can advance a similar claim, and it is our chief desire and aim to prove conclusively the validity of our contention. In order to do this, we must have a correct insight into the conditions and results of the actions of the Catholic Church and of Catholic individuals. We must know what was done, and how and why it was done, and when we acquire this knowledge by direct correspondence with the objective facts, we may be ever ready to refute slander and to propagate the truth. The cardinal principle, there-

fore, of our action in founding this Chair of American History, is to dig down through the years, through the centuries, to bed rock, and there, locating Truth, to stand firmly and fast upon it.

In this age of rampant individualism, all claims of wholesome nature are liable to be ignored. We incline, by reason of our strictly commercial and religionless training, to insincerity, ostentation, and intolerance of the rights and claims of others; and against this condition we must strengthen and fortify ourselves by the acquisition of the Truth. We must acquire knowledge, which man's moral sense demands; for knowledge resting on the solid foundation of facts begets consistency.

It is anomalous, to say the least, that a condition detrimental to Catholics and Catholic interests, which prevailed in the early days of this country, should be permitted to survive the present day of intellectual advancement. The Catholic people have ever shown themselves the most fair-minded and most appreciative of the rights of others; but we are sorry to say, and even history cannot deny it, that the return for good has been evil. The Catholic settlers and missionaries of Canada, pursuing the peaceful evangelization of the nations, were interrupted in their labors by non-Catholic intruders. Their missions were destroyed, their native protégés incited to war, and they themselves slain or proscribed. The marvelous mission system established by the Padres in the Southwest was attacked and despoiled by non-Catholic adventurers, their mission lands confiscated, and the natives and their religious sponsors driven away and murdered. The painful treatment accorded the magnanimous Baltimore and his Maryland fellow Catholics by the non-Catholic element, must ever remain a blot upon the pages of our history, and to come down closer to our own day, witness the Know-Nothing movement and the disbanding of Catholic regiments by the Governors of our New England States, and, at a still later period, social and commercial combinations too narrow and despicable for mention, directed at the heart of Catholic interest.

This tends to prove that the spirit of intolerance fostered by our New England Puritans is still rampant, and seems to seize particularly upon non-Catholic historians who find no room in their histories to laud the magnificent work done in the early days of the nation by the Catholic missionaries and the Catholic pioneers. Converging lines of evidence from many sides tend to prove that our histories are discriminating, and go far to justify our rejection of present histories, because of discrimination and incompleteness. These are the evils we seek to remedy by founding this Chair of American History. We

have been apathetic too long, and our apathy long indulged has led almost to inertia.

We have been encumbered with the ultra-conservative element who, rather than provoke censure or criticism, accepted conditions as they found them, without investigating the disposing causes; but we have grown alive to the necessity for action along positive lines. We want to know the truth and the whole truth. We want to rear a new class of historians, whose motto will be to find out and tell the truth. We want to uprear a race of historians, irrespective of color or creed, who will be right and just, who will relate all the facts just as they find them, leaving the readers to form their own opinions and conclusions; for it is the business of the historian to write history, not to advance opinions nor grow rhetorical to the end that sins of omission may pass unnoticed beneath a flood of eloquence.

A great essayist once said, "It often seems to me as if history was like a child's box of letters, with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those which do not suit our purpose." This seems to have been the general treatment accorded the Catholic Church and Catholic individuals in the writing of American History by non-Catholic historians; and although we do not assert the necessity of a revision, because of sins of commission, we are nevertheless forced to believe that the history of the American Continent as written, needs revision and amplification, because of sins of omission; and we venture the assertion that such a revision is a necessity demanded by the general good.

Truth-telling in the natural order of things is not difficult, but were we to premise our deductions on the experience we have thus far had with non-Catholic writers of American history, we must perforce conclude that the telling of the whole truth is an impossibility.

In view of all obtainable facts, it cannot be a matter of wonder that we Catholics deem it advisable to institute a most thorough search of the ground-truths of American history, through the agency of the Chair founded here to-day. We American Catholics boast unswerving allegiance to Church and State. We love our Faith as we love our Country, and we follow our Flag as we follow our Church—even unto Death. We are proud of the Stars and Stripes! We glory in the Banner of the Cross! Both are intrinsically inspiring, and there is nothing in either that incites controversy, nor should the one be set up against the other. The work accomplished in the field of humanity is grand, ennobling and sublime; and it is our love for both that prompts us to instigate this search for the whole truth.

It is our contention that the uplifting influence of the Catholic Church upon the moral and political progress of this country has not been accurately or completely set forth, for the reason that our historians have been prejudiced or have not completed their labors; and we sincerely believe and trust that the endowment of this Chair of American History will be instrumental in giving to the world a complete and impartial history; that it will be instrumental in up-rearing a class of historians who will face facts open-eyed, and who, if they speak at all concerning these facts, will speak justly, considerately and sincerely; who, whatever may be their impulse, will satisfy justice, and whatever their own personal impressions, will make sure of certitude and truth.

We believe this presentation of $50,000.00 to the Catholic University of America for the endowment of a Chair of American History is but the beginning of the great struggle for truth; and we, the Knights of Columbus, faithful to Church and State, representing the highest and best Catholic element of the land, feel highly complimented and deeply obligated to the Reverend Trustees of the Catholic University for the privilege of taking the initiative in so worthy a cause. But we are like one in the darkness seeking for light, who, uncertain how best to find it, calls upon others, more capable than himself, for assistance. We are seeking the truth about our Country's history, about the connection of the Catholic Church therewith, about the great influence of the Catholic Church in the making thereof; and, not certain how best to attain to that end, we call upon your Eminence, and you, the Most Reverend Trustees of the Catholic University. We give you the limited means at our command, and bid you in God's name: Go! seek out the truth and teach it to us, to our children, and to the whole world.

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE OF HIS EMINENCE, JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

Supreme Knight and Members of the Knights of Columbus:

I beg to assure you that I am using no conventional phrase, when in the name of the Trustees, and in my own name, I express to you our deep sense of gratitude for your munificent gift to the Catholic University.

You have contributed $50,000.00 for the endowment of a Chair of American History in the University. You may rest assured that this princely sum will be safely invested and sacredly devoted to the purposes designated by the donors.

An able professor will be selected to take charge of this important Chair, and how noble and congenial will be his theme! He will tell

us of the leading part which the Catholic Church has borne in the discovery of this continent, in the development of its resources, and in the spread of Christianity and civilization among its inhabitants. His task will be to vindicate the Ancient Church from the false aspersions which have been cast upon her, and to present her just claims for recognition before the tribunal of a discerning American people.

This present year is the most prosperous and auspicious that has dawned upon the Catholic University since its foundation.

We are cheered by the contemplation of a united episcopate. The Bishops are in perfect accord, and are marching shoulder to shoulder to advance the interest of this great institution of learning.

We are cheered by the generosity of the laity, in their individual capacity. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the coast of Maine to the Rio Grande, they have nobly responded to the appeal of the Hierarchy, and have just contributed to the University the sum of $100,000.00.

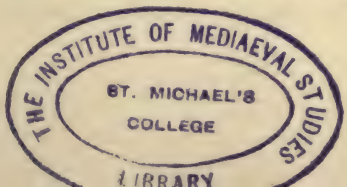
We are cheered by the laity in their corporate capacity, so well represented by the Ancient Order of Hibernians, who, a few years ago, presented us with a check for $50,000.00; and by the Knights of Columbus, who this very day have handed us a check for $50,000.00. And not content with their generous offering, they have signalized their deep interest in this institution by their presence in such large numbers on this joyous occasion.

And, lastly, we are cheered by the action of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pope Pius X, who has inaugurated his reign by sending us a letter of earnest smypathy and encouragement, and who, I am sure, will emulate the zeal of his glorious predecessor of happy memory, by taking the Catholic University under his special patronage.

Thus we find the Sovereign Pontiff, Hierarchy and laity united in their devotion to this great institution, and when the Pope, the Bishops and clergy, and the people are united in any enterprise which has for its aim the welfare of religion and humanity, there is no such word as fail. They form a triple cord which cannot be broken.

Gentlemen of the Knights of Columbus! you do not possess royal titles, nor regal purses, but you have proved to-day that you possess royal hearts, and deserve the noble title which you bear. May you increase in numbers and in usefulness, and may you continue to merit in the future, as you have deserved in the past, the confidence and support of the prelates and clergy of the United States!

Let your motto ever be: "Loyalty to God and to Country."


THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

ADDRESS OF RT. REV. P. J. GARRIGAN, BISHOP OF SIOUX CITY.

Your Eminence, Most Rev. and Rt. Rev. Fathers, Knights of Columbus and Friends—

This is one of those occasions, one of those notable events, which show forth the strength and unity of the Catholic body and rejoice the hearts of both the clergy and the laity. To me it is a source of sincere personal gratification to be here to-day and to take part in the splendid exercises of this afternoon. My old interest and friendship for the University, my affiliation with the Knights of Columbus, as well as my humble part in the movement, which receives its crown and finish here to-day, add to the pride and pleasure which this magnificent demonstration naturally produces. I congratulate the University on this grand testimonial to its just claims and its high merits, and I compliment the Knights of Columbus upon the honorable and proud achievement of this day. The members of that great organization may do many good and great things for church and for country in the years to come, but I doubt if they will surpass the grand act of to-day, in national usefulness and religious beneficence.

This act will live in effect as long as this University will live. It will be active while generations come and pass away, and will serve both Church and State, truth and justice, when the foundations of this young institution will begin to crumble with age. It will extend back to the landing of Columbus (1492) and will comprehend the beginnings, the growth and the development of this vast continent, during the past five hundred years. It will project itself into the future, teaching new generations the honorable parts, the heroic sacrifices, the valuable contributions of brain and brawn, which our people have generously and continuously made toward the upbuilding of the American nations. We hope it will contradict the famous proposition of De Maistre: that all history is a conspiracy against truth. It will certainly set the Church right before the learned world; prove her to be the mother of Christian civilization, and compel historical writers in future to do justice to her motives and her efforts for education, for charity, for the cultivation of civic virtue and pure morals. As it receives its inspiration from, so it partakes in the activity of the greatest of all the virtues, and like it, is thrice blessed, blessed in them that give, blessed in them that receive, and blessed in the future students of historical research.

For the fourth time in the history of the University, it receives this extraordinary expression of good will and devotion from the Catholic people of our country, who in organized bodies have come up to this great seat of learning, to associate themselves with the

workers, or to enshrine here the name of some good and great man, whose memory they would perpetuate by a participation in the noblest work of the Church in America. The first to lead the way was the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, which in 1893 endowed the Chair of Experimental Psychology; next, in 1896, came the noble order of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, who, zealous for the revival and better knowledge of their ancient language and literature, established the Chair of Celtic History and Letters; then in 1898 came that pilgrimage of devoted Brooklyn Catholics, who, through love and gratitude to a good priest, founded the Father Mitchell Burse, to maintain free forever a student of that Diocese in the School of the Sacred Sciences; and to-day, I will not say lastly, the Knights of Columbus come, with greater affluence of numbers and of means, and establish an overflow[1] Chair endowment, to carry on for all time here the work of American Historical Research and Study. I daresay, Your Eminence, that never in the history of Universities have such popular support and devotion been shown for higher education as these; a proof that this University is the University of the People, just as the Catholic Church, and the saintly Pontiff who founded it, were respectively the Church of the People and the Pope of the People; a proof also that the people appreciate the highest knowledge and demand the highest education for their children.

I recall with genuine pleasure to-day the gracious consideration given to the messenger of the University by the representatives of the Knights of Columbus assembled in New Haven in March, 1899, and I am glad to bear witness to the spontaneous unanimity with which they accepted the proposal to endow a Chair of American History here. Although the measure was but feebly presented and vaguely outlined, yet it immediately commended itself to their enlightened minds, and the eminent fitness of the Knights of Columbus taking care of the history of this Continent, which was so providentially opened up by the great discoverer whose name they bear, appealed instantly to their high sense of patriotism, truth and justice. To-day this vast assembly of the Knights and their friends, through the length and breadth of this vast country, from the North and the South, from the East and the West, and even from beyond our own territorial lines, give public approval to the action of the New Haven Convention of 1899, and this great demonstration is as unanimous and as eloquent for the measure, as were their representatives in solemn conclave assembled five years ago.

[1] Referring to excess to be used for books.

Brother Knights of Columbus! you have this day erected a monument to the honor of our Order that will outlive time, were it possible. You have builded a national monument, another Washington monument, and it now remains for us to beautify and amplify and guard this noble work of 100,000 hands. The hearts that conceived and carried to completion this proud accomplishment have still faith and love of religion and of historical truth in abundance; and we may rest assured now that the cause of American history is secure from the attacks of ignorance and malice.

Address of John J. Delaney, Corporation Counsel of New York City.

Members of the Faculty—Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am going to give you one promise—one promise will do at this hour of the afternoon—that as you have waited so patiently and have listened so enthusiastically to what has been said by those who preceded me, I do not propose to occupy your time, and you can soon be dismissed in peace.

I feel, however, that I should say a word to rescue this occasion from the imputation of having been concocted in a vainglorious spirit by the organization which is the donor of this chair to-day. My friends, nothing is further from the thought of the organization. If it had its way, its directors would come in by the back door of your city, deposit with the Very Reverend Rector the check which is to-day to be given to establish this chair, wish him well, ask a blessing upon our Order, and then depart from the city as silently as they came. But it was believed that we should let our light shine before men, in order that the example might be shown to others; and if you find us in the gap with our plumes flying in the wind to-day, it is not our choice, but rather that we might serve as an example to inspire others to do something like that which we have accomplished this afternoon.

It is in the hope that the good work will go on, and that the fourth procession will only be a harbinger of the 400 processions yet to come, and speedily we hope, until every conceivable line of education, until every possible department of learning shall have its chair, and that the foundation stones shall be given by the free hearts of American Catholics who love learning as dearly as any people in the world.

My friends, the sum which we give to-day is a paltry one; large though it may seem, it is a small drain upon the resources of men of energy like ourselves. But at the same time it serves the purpose of signalizing one thing and that is that we are loyal to the church of our fathers. That the church of our fathers is our church, and that

we are resolved also that the church of our fathers shall be the church of our children and of our children's children.

This is a testimonial not so much of our desire to unfold the truth that may have been suppressed or that may have lain forgotten. This is a testimonial to Catholic education, higher and lower, intermediate, and of every form, and it comes as a gift in that spirit. My friends, we must remember this, that while this is a testimony of our loyalty to our faith, it is also a testimony of our loyalty to the Sovereign Pontiff and the Hierarchy of the American church. Let every man, whoever he may be, however lofty his station in the Church or in the State, howsoever humble his station, if the Hierarchy of this country declare, and Rome approves their declaration upon any score or any line of conduct—if that man does not throw himself into the work, he is disloyal to the cause of the American Catholic Church.

We know from the history of the world that sometimes disloyalty to a policy that has been approved has done more harm than heresy. And therefore we are here to-day to stimulate the fervor of the Catholic people and teach others, as far as we may be permitted to do so, to follow our example, not the example that we set, but one which has been set for us, and which we follow, in order that some good may be done by men observing the good that others have done before them.

My friends, there is an important consideration for us in all this. We are a benevolent organization in the common acceptation of that term. There is a great discussion going on in one of the New York newspapers now about the question of the survival of dogma, about the perpetuity of religion, and men have come from all parts, men who rush in where angels fear to tread, to discuss this great problem, which has interested the human mind from the beginning of human habitation upon this earth. Now, Mr. Goldwin Smith wrote a book a few years ago on the philosophy of history, and while we are on the subject of history, it might not do any harm to consider his proposition. He says it is astonishing how many benevolent organizations there are in the state and throughout the United States and throughout the world, and he says that this manifestation of benevolence, which is doing good in a material way, man for man, which the churches have undertaken is evidence of the fact that they are trying to secure some other ground upon which to survive than their dogmatic foundation. My friends, this is the man who teaches the philosophy of history, and when the great acts that make the history of the world are to be examined and motives are to be assigned to men, this is one of the men who comes in to tell the world why certain

effects were produced by certain causes. He says that benevolence is a manifestation of the spirit of the people breaking away from the ancient faith. Listen for a moment to Him who is our foundation stone. He says: "A cup of water given in my name shall receive an exceeding great reward." He tells the story of the good Samaritan who succors the man who has been injured; and if it is out of the department of material aid, does he not bend over the prostrate form of a sin-stained woman, after having asked the question of the cowardly crowd, and they have slunk away,—does He not lift her up and say, "If none of these hath accused thee, then neither shall I; go, sin no more." And whether it be in the work of reforming delinquents, or whether it be in the work of alleviating pain or remedying diseases, if that be the manifestation of benevolence, it is the manifestation of the spirit of Christ in modern society, and the greatest possible assurance that religion is increasing rather than decaying. Yet this man is one of the philosophers of history, and I have no doubt you dip into his books and permit your children to dip into his books, although Mr. Goldwin Smith turns and twists every fact against your religion.

My friends, I promised you that I would hold you but a minute.

This is not the first time I have addressed vast audiences in the open air. But my friends, I solemnly avow this beautiful evening in the springtime that I never did it before such an illustrious background.

I believe that there is work for us yet to do. The organization which we represent is, I believe, according to the language of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Philadelphia, not a Catholic organization, but an organization of Catholics. But, my friends, we live by the sufferance of the church, and hearts that have loved the Knights of Columbus, that have grieved over their sorrows and have rejoiced over their successes, would turn to stone if the organization met with the disapproval of the church, and the hands that lifted it up with willing, loving and enthusiastic spirit would, if the disapproval of the church were to descend on that organization, be the hands that would willingly tear it down.

You, my brothers, know very well, and solemnly have we given our promises to each other, that if the time should ever come when the church would frown upon this organization, and we should have to take sides, we have solemnly vowed that we would take the side of the church even against the organization. And so, my friends, we are not working for to-day. We are working for the future. What little good we can do is to plant the seed, the fruit of which others

shall reap. We know, every one of us, as we enter our council chambers, we give the assurance to one another that time is fast fleeting away, and that every man of us is doomed to die, and we never enter our council chamber without giving that assurance to ourselves and to each other. We have then but our time in which to do our work. We are not working for ourselves, for we are conscious that we have eaten the fruit that our fathers have planted for us and we rejoice that they gave us strength and transmitted to us the faith. All we can do now is to so live as to deserve the honor of our children after we have sunk into the silent grave, that they will speak of us as their fathers, have the same creed that we gave to them, and give testimony to the fact that it is good because their fathers before them loved it, and if necessary would die for it.

THE APOSTOLIC MISSION HOUSE.

The Apostolic Mission House, erected on the grounds of the Catholic University for the purpose of training priests for missionary work among non-Catholics, was dedicated at 4:30 o'clock Thursday afternoon, April 14, by Cardinal Gibbons, in the presence of a distinguished gathering of ecclesiastics. With appropriate addresses by Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis; Monsignor O'Connell, rector of the Catholic University, and the Rev. A. P. Doyle, of the Paulist Fathers of New York, the new home was formally consecrated to its work.

The prelates participating in the event assembled at Caldwell Hall at four o'clock, and half an hour later the procession was taken up. The line was headed by altar boys bearing aloft the cross, the boys' choir of St. Aloysius' church, the student body from the University and more than 100 priests, followed by Archbishop Elder, of Cincinnati; Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia; Archbishop Farley, of New York; Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul; Archbishop Keane, of Dubuque; Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis; Archbishop Messmer, of Milwaukee; Monsignor O'Connell, Bishop Maes, of Covington; Bishop Foley, of Detroit, and Cardinal Gibbons. To the singing of the Gregorian chant the procession marched slowly across the University campus between throngs of people gathered to witness the ceremonies.

At the north door of the building the procession halted. Cardinal Gibbons passed around the outer walls, sprinkling them with holy water, and blessing the building. The Church dignitaries then entered the building and proceeded to the chapel on the second floor. Cardinal Gibbons blessed the chapel. Father Doyle, the Paulist, delivered an address in which he outlined the purposes of the Mission House.

"The Apostolic Mission House," said Father Doyle, "is intended for the training of diocesan priests to be missionaries, particularly to non-Catholics. It is not owned by the Paulists, nor is it a Paulist institution, but is directly under the hierarchy, and the rector is named by the directors of the Catholic Missionary Union. It bears

the same relation to the hierarchy that the American College at Rome does.

"Its definite purpose is the training of secular priests to be diocesan missionaries. It is evident to any one what a great impulse will be given to the work of religion in ths country when there shall be located in every diocese from three to six able, talented speakers, who will be thoroughly trained and well equipped for their missionary work, and whose business shall be to go about in the remote districts and smaller towns and explain the teachings of the Catholic Church.

"There is a great deal of misunderstanding in the minds of many people in regard to the attitude of the Catholic Church toward public questions, as well as her distinctive teachings, and this house stands for explaining the truth, clarifying the minds of the American people and dissipating whatever prejudices may exist. It is a monument to the awakening missionary spirit. It stands for agressiveness, activity and advancement. It has written broad over its work the motto of the new Pope, 'To restore all things in Christ.'

"It appeals particularly to all who love the Church and who believe that it will have no small share in the preservation of that civilization which we enjoy, and the principles which give us both civil and religious freedom."

Monsignor O'Connell, rector of the University, delivered an address, in which he congratulated the missionary workers of the Catholic Church on their successful efforts in establishing a central missionary house.

"Your are now doing that great work which Christ began many years ago," he said. "You are here to carry on this work, and the University is proud to help you. It will be our duty always to consider you our honored friends and guests, and you will find the University always a generous host, for after all we are one. Through this college knowledge will be spread throughout all the world. May God's blessing descend upon this house."

Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis, spoke of the great endeavor which the students of the Mission House will make in their efforts for a Catholic America.

" 'As the Father has sent Me,' " he quoted, " 'so I send you.' There is nothing static in this, but it is dynamic. This house represents the dynamic force of the Church. Most of the Catholic people in America are content to let well enough alone. They prefer to do nothing rather than to stir up any strife among non-Catholics, and there has been a tendency to let the non-Catholics alone. But in these

later years there has come an inspiration from Heaven to go forth and do missionary work.

"We have to-day in America 15,000,000 Catholics, all earnestly looking forward hopefully. Yesterday, when that great gift was presented to the University, I saw in the faces of 10,000 Catholics the spirit of old that actuated the Crusaders. We cannot rest, and our pulses rise at the prospect of the work before us.

"The great body of non-Catholics in America is looking out anxiously with eager eyes for the truth. It is our duty to teach it. Catholic America, our dream. May it be realized! Bless this house, O God, that they who go forth may conquer or die."

* * *

The new Apostolic Mission House is a handsome structure, built in the old Spanish style. It has been completed at a cost of $75,000, and its student body will be trained for diocesan missionary work. The Rev. Walter Elliott, of the Paulists, is the rector. The house is owned by the Catholic Missionary Union, and contains now about eighteen students.

The new building is one of the most picturesque in the city. Standing on a knoll overlooking Bunker Hill road, in the southeastern corner of the University grounds, the house faces north, although all of its four facades might be called "fronts." It is built on the type of the old Spanish missions of red brick covered with stucco, the brick being used in the trimmings. The house is four stories in height and has a basement. It is absolutely plain and devoid of any trimming save narrow strips of red brick here and there about the corners and the windows to set off the dull color of the stucco. On the east side a large portico, or loggia, has been built in the house itself. The arched openings in the wall that admit light and air to this loggia are the only breaks in the plain treatment of the walls. The windows and doors are constructed, so far as possible, on the old mission style. Entering the building by its northern door, the visitor finds himself on a landing of the stairs running from the first floor to the basement as soon as he steps inside the door. A flight of six steps leads to the first floor, where the rooms of the priests in charge and some of the rooms for the student priests are found. The interior of the building is finished as plainly as the exterior. Dull-colored walls are set off with deep green woodwork, the green simulating the old weathered oak used in the early missions. The electroliers and chandeliers, the house being lighted by both, are of bronze, covered with verdigris.

A long corridor runs directly through the building from the center,

cutting it in two parts. On the first floor there are corridors on both the east and west sides also, with rooms for the student priests in the center. The offices of the rector and his assistants are on the first floor. On the second floor are the living rooms of the student priests, and here also are to be found the chapel and the private altars, where the priests can say Mass individually in the morning. The loggia is entered from this floor also. A corridor divides the second floor in two parts. Along the north and south sides are living rooms for the student priests and the officers of the institution. The west hall of the center is occupied by the chapel and vesting room and the east half by the private chapels and the loggia. The private chapels, of which there are six, in three sets of two, are built in alcoves, an altar being placed at each end of the three alcoves. Light is admitted by large curved windows which open on the loggia. The loggia is one of the most picturesque spots in the building. It is about twelve feet in width and is two thirds the length of the whole building. It is floored with red cement and at night is lighted by three lanterns hung from the ceiling. The lanterns are of the old-fashioned pattern, wrought from iron and having dull glass shades.

It was in the loggias of the old missions that the priests spent hours in meditation, walking backward and forward. All the student priests who will come to the Mission House will be expected to spend certain hours each day in meditation and silent study and prayer. It is for the accommodation of these at such an hour that the loggia has been designed. Open as it is to the air and sunlight, a walk of an hour along its cool flooring will be a healthful change from the close atmosphere of the sleeping room and study.

The chapel and vesting rooms, which occupy the remainder of this floor, are austere in their simplicity. Bare floors and hard, straight-backed chairs give an idea of the simplicity of the life of the occupants of the building. The altar is constructed of a beautiful piece of white marble. The marble is remarkable for its purity and freedom from veining of any kind. The vesting room, behind the altar is entered both from the hallway to the north and by doors from the chapel. In addition to the usual furniture of such a room, the lockers and closets being of green weathered timbers, there are three private altars in the corridors. On the wall of the room directly behind the altar of the chapel a marble slab has been set, inscribed with a request that in saying Masses the priests will pray for the Apostolic Mission and those who founded it.

The third floor is occupied entirely with living rooms for student priests, and the fourth floor is given over to living rooms and a large library room.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Political Theories of the Ancient World. By Westel Woodbury Willoughby, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. xii + 289.

This is the first of a series of treatises which the author hopes to prepare, covering the entire history of political philosophy. The scope of the work is broad, resting as it does, on the principle that political theories are but one phase of the wider philosophy of human life in general, and aiming to arrive at a knowledge of the philosophy of politics in different ages from the facts of public life as well as from the authors in whose works these facts have been crystallized into systems.

It embraces two main divisions: Oriental and Greek Political Theories, and Roman Political Theories.

Because of the uncertainty which exists as to the origin and early development of organized society among men, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a knowledge of primitive political institutions. The author does not consider it necessary for his purpose to decide what are the relations between the family and the clan, and on the theory that "the tribe was not always formed by a union of clans, but more often clans were formed by a differentiation of groups within a tribe" he proposes a set of rules by which the clan may be distinguished from the tribe. In the present state of the science of Anthropology this is, at best, only a working hypothesis, and consequently it detracts somewhat from the force of the statement that "the origin of real political authority among men is to be found in the tribe and in the control which it exercised over its members."

In a stagnation of thought mysterious as the Oriental mind itself and a common worship of some particular god or gods the author sees a faithful reflex of the unchanging political ideas and governmental forms of the Orient. The fatalistic apathy of Brahmins, Buddhists, Confucians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Egyptians, though no hindrance to the development of high ethical systems, produced no desire for reform and no distinct political theories. "The form of government was in every case a monarchy, the monarchy was in every case hereditary, and the hereditary monarch always a despot." In each instance the state was theocratic, and the laws derived their sanction from the will of the gods. Notwithstanding the fact that "all social customs, all political obligations became stereotyped in fixed

customs of immemorial usage'' ''the greater nations of ancient Asia contributed to political thought the imperial idea.''

All this is doubtless true of the great Asiatic monarchies, after the time that they had established stable governments; but there was a process of growth from the pastoral or some other form of life prior to the formation of these gigantic empires which, if the author had seen fit to trace it, might have revealed a germ at least of the later political systems.

A special chapter is devoted to an examination of the political theories of the Hebrews. In common with the other peoples of the Orient the Hebrews possessed a theocratic form of government, and laws which were considered to embody the will of their God, but in contradiction to their neighbors the Hebrews never associated Jehovah with any particular locality, nor did they exclude a democratic element from their government, ''as was shown not only in the origin of their monarchy, but in the part played by the people both in the creation of codified law and the censorship exercised by them over the conduct of their kings.''

Though the author says that ''especial belief and obedience were accorded to the words of the judges and prophets as voicing the will of God,'' he immediately adds ''such authority as they were recognized to have came from their own natural abilities and force of character.'' This is slightly vague, and in the case of the prophets scarcely exact. Their authority was recognized because they were considered to be the mouthpieces of Jehovah. (Cf. Wellhausen, ''History of Israel and Judah,'' Eng. trans., 3d ed., 1891, p. 87 sq.)

The major portion of the work is taken up with an exposition of the political philosophy of the Greeks. The speculative mind of the Greek and the naturalistic character of his religion led him to abandon the primitive idea of a theocratic organization of society and the state and to substitute the human element which resulted ''in making of the state a sort of universal person absorbing in its life all individual personalities.'' The political theories of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and the succeeding schools of Greek philosophy are studied in great detail and thus the ideas of the foundations on which they considered society to rest are brought out clearly and fully. The work closes with an examination of the political theories of the Romans, and especially of the political speculations of Polybius and Cicero which are studied in the last two chapters.

The work is the first of the kind in the English language and cannot fail to be of immense value, not only to students of the philosoph-

ical side of politics, and political history, but also to those who are interested in social and economic questions.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Year 1547. By Rev. E. A. D'Alton, C.C. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1903. 8°, pp. 460.

There can be no question of the crying need which exists for a comprehensive history of Ireland written with a view to the needs of present day students and embodying the results of the most recent labors in Celtic philology and antiquities. Imperious as is this demand and abundant as are the sources from whence it can be supplied, the reverend author of this work seems neither to have had any care for the one, nor the knowledge of the other. It is utterly inexcusable that in a book of such pretensions no reference is made to the epoch making works of D'Arbois, of Reinach, of Bertrand, and a host of other eager investigators in the field of Celtic studies and early European Anthropology.

A good deal of the conjecture and most of the errors would have been avoided in the first three chapters, in which the author treats of Celtic origins and the earliest inhabitants of Ireland, had he seen fit to avail himself of the materials that modern science has placed at his disposal. While he may have some grounds for justification in regarding the story of the Fomorians and the Firbolgs as a solid foundation for a course in Irish history, he might at least have pointed out in what these time-worn theories are superior to later views. His general conclusion in regard to the people who first inhabited Ireland, viz: "These are questions which will always remain doubtful, and in striving to arrive at the truth it must be admitted that we derive but little assistance, either from the arguments of Buchanan or the credulity of Keating" (p. 14) is entirely too sweeping and scarcely such as we might expect from a critical or widely read author of the present time.

The greater part of the work resolves itself into a catalogue of the wars and internal disputes of the Irish clans—a tiresome list of interminable petty quarrels and feuds which filled the island with bloodshed, a narrative unrelieved by any attempt to give a philosophical or large view of the political causes which produced these dissensions. The later chapters of the book are much more satisfactory than the early ones, but more attention should have been given to the system of government, and the administration of justice and kindred subjects and to the social and economic condition of the people all of

which are sadly neglected. While the people were warlike and perhaps in a constant state of belligerency, Irish history is much more than a recital of the names and deeds of chieftans easily urged to violence by the aggressions of their neighbors, and kept in a constant state of fever by the chants and invectives of the slaughter-loving bards, who made life unbearable for the peaceably inclined.

The book, however, is not without many good features. The author exhibits a rare sympathy for his theme, his style is clear and vigorous and free from rhetorical exaggeration, and the entire narrative shows a spirit of impartiality which is all the more remarkable when we remember how deeply Ireland suffered, how closely the feelings of Irishmen are bound up with the past and how largely the recollection of former injustice has entered into the thought and life of the people.

The construction of the work is sometimes faulty. It contains no list of reference books such as we might expect in a work which, considering its scope, is practically the first in a new field. Another notable omission is that of maps. There is nothing in the nature of description or delineation to enable the reader to find out what were the territorial limits of the different clans, or to accurately determine the boundaries and extent of the provinces.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Vocal and Literary Interpretation of the Bible. By S. S. Curry, Ph.D., Acting Davis Professor of Elocution at Newton Theological Institution. New York: Macmillan, 1903. 8°, pp. xx + 384.

Professor Curry's purpose is to "awaken higher ideals regarding the Bible in public worship." To that end the public reader must know and feel that he is the bearer of a message from God to his hearers. With the meaning of this message he must be deeply impressed. Only thus can he give effective expression to the thought and feeling which it is his office to communicate. But in the expression of the message it is not sufficient simply to try to be natural. For the very search after naturalness is certain to make his delivery unnatural. He must have prepared mind and voice by a close study of the thought wrapped up in the words, and by a careful analysis of the laws of vocal expression, as exhibited in human speech. It is as a help and as a guide to the public reader of Scripture in this twofold work of preparation that the book is intended. Of the four main parts into which the work is divided, two are especially important to this end.

The second section, entitled "The Message," is a study of the different psychological states necessary in reading various parts of the Bible. "The literary study of the Bible, to be of any advantage to vocal interpretation, must be a simple and profound study of its real spirit, a creation of the scenes by the imagination and the sympathetic assimilation of its experience" (p. 56).

In the third section, "Technique," are analyzed the conditions and modes of vocal expression. Vocal expression is the revelation and more or less spontaneous effect of thinking, command over which must first be acquired. Mechanical rules and imitations interfere with the direct effect of thinking and feeling upon the natural agents. Therefore, we must search for laws and principles, grounded in the action of our own thinking and learn to obey them" (p. 139).

Professor Curry's system, therefore, is not of his own making. He has obtained it from a thorough study of the mind and the voice acting freely and naturally. The laws which he formulates are nature's own laws, the existence of which he has discovered. The preliminary analysis may appear long and complicated. But it must always be so in searching for the beginnings of these processes in nature that appear most simple and most obvious. Effects most ordinary are often most mysterious in their causes. The difficulties of the problem should not discourage. One must be conscious of the operation of the voice, before one can obtain sureness of result in the use of it. To obtain that consciousness so necessary to success in public speaking, all the facts and principles explained in this book must be minutely studied.

The book is the fruit of many years of experience in training clergymen in this particular field. And all those who are acquainted with Dr. Curry know with what success he has labored in imparting to all his pupils the fundamental principles of the art of expression, and to all who have had the good fortune to follow his course to the end the most profound principles of the art. In this book the author has set forth the results of his labors in a plain and simple way, without ostentation, and free from the obscurity that often accompanies technicalities. Its thoroughness and clearness of exposition should obtain for this work the immediate and wide recognition which its exceptional merits deserve. It should be read and re-read by all those whose duties should make this subject one of interest to them, if they would read the sacred text in a way to make known its meaning and its beauty to their hearers.

CHAS. P. GRANNAN.

Alttestamentliches. Von Vincenz Zapletal, O.P., ord. Professor der alttest. Exegese an der Universität Freiburg (Schweiz). Universitäts-Buchhandlung (B. Veith), 1903. 8°, pp. vii + 192.

La Merope. Tragœdia Illustrissimi poetæ Veronensis Marchionis Francisci Scipionis Maffei, quam ex italico sermone in linguam sacram classicam convertit celeber poeta mantuanus Samuel Aaron Romanelli, nunc primum cum praefatione et notis in lucem edita e manuscripto autographo translatoris existente in Bibliotheca privata editoris Dris P. Thomæ. Aq. Weikert, S.B., Publ. in Collegio S. Anselmi de Urbe Ling. Orient. Prof. Consultoris Commissionis Biblicæ: Rome: Fr. Pustet, 1904. 8°, pp. xvi + 206 and one plate.

Sinai, Macān, Petra. Sur les traces d'Israel et chez les Nabatéens. Avec une lettre-préface du Marquis de Vogüé de l'Académie Française, par Adélaide Sargenton-Galichon. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. 8°, pp. xviii + 306.

1. In this work we have a series of studies in Old Testament exegesis by the well known professor of the Catholic University of Freiburg. I. Das Ebenbild Gottes im Menschen (Gen. I, 26). II. Das Strafgericht nach dem Sündenfall (Gen. III, 14–19). Der Segen Jacobs (Gen. XLIX, 2–27). IV. Das Ephod. V. Das Gelübde Jephtas. VI. Der Lobegesang der Anna (I. Sam. II, 1–10). VII. David's Klagelied über Saul und Jonathan (II. Sam. I, 18–27). VIII. Der 2. Psalm. IX. Das Sela in den Psalmen. X. Die Parabel vom Weinberg (I. Sam. V, 1–17). Der Spruch über Moab (I. Sam. XV–XVI.) XII. Zur natürlichsten Erklärung des biblischen Schöpfungsberichtes.

These studies are carefully and comprehensively worked out. The exposition is logical and clear. There are no digressions; every word goes to the point. Dr. Zapletal's little book cannot be commended too highly as a sample of good exegesis, thoroughly scientific and yet perfectly conservative from a strict Catholic standpoint.

2. Among the Jewish Litterati who flourished in upper Italy few better deserve to be more widely known than Samuel Aaron Romanelli (died 1814), the translator of Maffei's *La Merope.* Romanelli distinguished himself as a linguist and as a traveller. But he was above all a poet, and as such has left to posterity quite a number of graceful writings, sonnets particularly, some in Hebrew, some in Italian or in both languages. His poetical translation of Maffei's great work into classical Hebrew appears now for the first time from his own autograph manuscript which is in the possession of Dr. Weikert. This publication will be welcomed by all Hebrew scholars not only for the

merits of Romanelli's work itself, but also for the very accurate biographical and bibliographical information contained in the preface.

3. From Suez to Jerusalem through Sinai and Petra, while one of the most attractive pilgrimages, is also one of the most forbidding. No one must undertake it who is not ready to part, for several weeks, with the comforts of modern travelling, stride a camel's saddle and sleep under the frail cover of a tent, like the sons of the desert, with whom, besides, the pilgrims must be ready to fraternize or fight. The fact that it is from the pen of a woman who was brave enough to face those hardships adds considerably to the charm this little book derives from the spirit of sterling Christianity that pervades all its pages. Madame Galichon is both an artist and a believer; an artist whom strange beauties of the desert entrance; a believer as St. Paul would have them not "ignorant that our fathers were all under the cloud and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized in Moses in the cloud and in the sea and did all eat the same spiritual meat and did all drink the same spiritual drink for they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them and the rock was Christ" (I. Cor. X, 2–4). This book, however, is more than a mere narrative of religious pilgrimage. Without a shadow of pedantry, Madame Galichon is at home in all the problems of biblical archæology. Not in vain did she travel with the learned professors of the "Ecole Pratique d'Etudes Bibliques" in Jerusalem. Their scientific discussions are echoed all through her journal, harmonizing with and supporting its *note dominante* of religion and poetry. No wonder the book appears with a preface from so eminent an oriental archæologist as Marquise de Vogüé.

Whoever contemplates the same pilgrimage will do well to take as a companion our fair author's diary, in addition to the indispensable, yet so sadly prosaic, Bædeker's Guide for Palestine.

Finally, the book is tastefully printed and fittingly illustrated with numerous photographic views from the traveller's camera.

H. HYVERNAT.

Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils von seiner ersten Ankündigung bis zu seiner Vertagung, nach den authentischen Dokumenten dargestellt. Von Theodor Granderath, S.J., herausgegeben von Konrad Kirch, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: B. Herder, 1903. 8°, Vol. I, xxiii + 533; Vol. II, xv + 778.

Shortly after the Golden Age of the Roman Senate had drawn to a close and its ancient prerogatives had been usurped by the emperors there came into being another legislative body which was destined to hand down through all subsequent ages its best traditions.

The first synod of the Christian Church held at Jerusalem about the year 52 was but the sowing of the conciliar mustard-seed which was destined to a development unparalleled in the history of human parliaments. The wonderful panorama set before the reader in a work such as Hefele's "History of the Councils" is in great measure a picture of civilized nations during nineteen centuries.

In the work of Father Granderath, edited by Father Kirch, we have the first two volumes of what promises to be an exhaustive history of the Vatican Council, the latest, and in many respects the most epoch-making, of all the great councils of the Church. The third and final volume, the editor informs us, will appear in the course of this year. The author enjoyed exceptional advantages in writing his history. He was selected as editor in 1885 of the "Collectio Conciliorum Lacensis," and in this capacity published the Acts and Decrees as well as the Dogmatic Constitutions of the Vatican Council. In 1893 he took up his residence at Rome where all the documents relative to this council were placed at his disposal by Leo XIII for the preparation of his work.

The first volume is entirely devoted to the "Vorgeschichte" of the Council. The author traces the causes which decided Pius IX and his advisers to call together the bishops of the Catholic world in the Eternal City. A detailed narration of the work accomplished by the commissions appointed by the Pope is followed by a general survey of public opinion, on the announcement of the great project, as expressed through the medium of the periodical press and in other forms. The last portion of this volume treats of the papal briefs to the Oriental schismatics and to Protestants, the impressions of European rulers on the subject of the council, and the immediate preparation in Rome for its assemblage.

The second volume covers the period from the opening of the council to the close of the third open session. A full account is given of the debates within, and the heated controversies outside the council during these eventful months. An exposé of the unscrupulous means adopted by some of those opposed to the chief object of the council, and of the diplomatic relations of the Powers with the Holy See, brings the published portion of the work to a close.

The author of these volumes is generally fair and impartial in his statement of facts, but some of his appreciations are not likely to receive general assent. He rightly insists on the necessity of sound theological reasoning in an ecclesiastical historian; but is not a scientific acquaintance with Church History equally necessary to a theologian? Father Granderath is of the opinion (II, 270) that in doc-

trinal controversies, knowledge of dogmatic theology is the chief requisite. On the next page the statement is made that Hefele was a historian, but not a theologian. The author admits that a good Church historian may be useful in refuting objections against the teaching of the Church; but it seems to us that in order to refute such objections successfully the historian must also be a theologian; and we are inclined to think too that Hefele accomplished something for the defense of the dogma. It was a jest among the Fathers of the Council, we are told, that the Spaniards had studied their theology from folios, the Italians from quartos, the French from octavos, and the Germans from brochures; yet it was the German Hergenröther who successfully encountered Döllinger. The author's opinion of Manning and Newman is interesting. Manning (II, 271) cannot be ranked among the first theologians of the Council, but "we must regard him as a man of the highest mental attainments who, being a convert, must have investigated thoroughly that part of theology which was the special object of discussion in the Vatican Council." But Newman, we are assured, owed his fame rather to his classic diction than to his theological attainments (nicht wegen grosser Gelehrsamkeit in der theologischen Wissenschaft sondern wegen der Klassizität seiner Sprache). The author seems to be unaware of the fact that Newman was the pioneer investigator of the movement which brought both himself and Manning into the Church. Despite his supposed limitations, Newman after the definition of Papal Infallibility, "defended the defined dogma against the enemy with great success" (II, 670). Rather curious that so mediocre a theologian should be able to write what many regard as the best defence in English of the work of the Vatican Council. But may there not be some differences of opinion as to what constitutes a "good theologian"? And is it not true, after all, that the minority, notwithstanding their comparatively poor equipment in theology, believed in Papal Infallibility? All Catholics are long since convinced that the definition of this article of faith was an immense step forward, but at the same time it is not surprising that differences of opinion as to its opportuneness should have previously existed.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Die Verfassung der Kirche von den ersten Jahrzehnten der apostolischen Wirksamkeit bis zum Jahre 175 n. Chr. Von Heinrich Bruders, S.J. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1904. 8°, pp. xvi + 405.

This is an excellent study of the historical texts bearing on the development of the Church up to the year 175. The author pays

special attention to the question of the relations which existed between the itinerary missionaries commissioned by the Apostles and persons endowed with "charismata" on one side, and the regular directors of churches on the other. The various passages in the documents bearing on the subject under investigation are carefully weighed, and the meaning attached to the terms applied to ecclesiastical functionaries in apostolic and sub-apostolic times brought out with a clearness not always found in works of this character.

Though enveloped in a mist of obscurity, the investigations of the author throw considerable light on the origin and early development of the Church's hierarchy. St. Paul, for example commissioned "approved men," as St. Clement calls them in his letter to the Corinthians. These were divided into two classes (1) itinerary missionaries, as Apollo, Aristarchus, Artemas, Demas, etc., and (2) resident directors as Archippus, Epaphras, etc. Those of the second category were variously known as directors (*προισταμενοί*), leaders (*ἡγούμενοι*), overseers (*ἐπίσκοποι*), etc. The Apostle appointed these men with a view to providing for the future government of the Church, and furthermore ordered that after his own death other "approved men" should take his place. The jurisdiction of itinerary missionaries was much more extensive than that of resident directors of Churches. Timothy and Titus, for instance, were charged by St. Paul with the government of the Churches of Ephesus and Crete, and received authority to ordain bishops and deacons. Resident directors were also for a time overshadowed by those persons who were endowed with special gifts (charismata) of the Holy Ghost. The latter, however, gradually decreased in numbers and finally disappeared. Itinerary missionaries also soon disappeared; ecclesiastical terminology became more precise; and bishops, priests and deacons —the regular hierarchy of the church—were seen in the exercise of those functions which still characterize their respective orders.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

The Two Kenricks. By John J. O'Shea. Philadelphia: John J. McVey, 1904. 8°, pp. xiv + 495.

How much the Catholic Church in America owes to the many great and self-sacrificing prelates who watched over her beginnings in the young Republic, can be ascertained only by a study of her history in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was indeed providential that such men as Archbishop Carroll, Bishop England, the Kenrick brothers, Archbishop Hughes, and many others of equal zeal and prudence were entrusted with the pastoral office during this form-

ative period. The present biographical sketches contain a fairly good account of the principal events in the lives of two bishops whose great work deserves to be better known by American Catholics. The author displays too great a fondness for digressions. All that concerns the elder Kenrick in the first thirty-nine pages might easily be put in five. And is it not going just a little too far to seek in "the violent conflict in the East and Africa, in the early times ere yet the Church had emerged from the mists of heresy" (p. 47), for a parallel to the troubles caused by a few insolent trustees of a Philadelphia Church in the thirties?

The author's apparent ambition to introduce a new style of English may be praiseworthy, but we fear he will experience some difficulty in securing its immediate adoption. The public we imagine, are scarcely prepared for the reception into ordinary usage of such words and phrases as the following: "susurrus," "sequelæ," "cryptic truth," "atrabilious statements," "artificial afflatus," "jejune pittance," etc. Moralizing, too, of a character by no means uncommon nowadays on the erroneous or supposedly erroneous views of men whose lives were devoted to the defense of the Catholic Church, and the propagation of her teachings is usually attractive to a certain class of minds. Yet, we believe, a great Doctor of the Church found it necessary to write a book of "Retractions," which fact is not usually put forward as his best claim to remembrance by Catholic theologians.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

The Real St. Francis of Assisi. By Fr. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M. Reprinted from "The Catholic Mind," 1904. Pp. 93.

In this brochure Fr. Robinson submits to a critical examination the peculiar theories relative to St. Francis of Assisi put forward by Sabatier in his Life of the *Poverello.* How little foundation these theories have outside the imagination of M. Sabatier, the author clearly and satisfactorily demonstrates from the best documentary sources. The movement originated by St. Francis of Assisi, Fr. Robinson shows, was not only a great social and popular reform, "founded upon an awakening of the people's conscience to the evils of the age"; but it was also and preëminently a Catholic *religious* revival "conceived and carried out in the spirit of devoted obedience to the Holy See."

Father Robinson is well acquainted with the literature of his subject and in the present work displays a critical and literary skill of a high order. The possession of these qualifications designates

him as one well fitted to write the "finally acceptable life" of St. Francis of Assisi which alone can adequately dispose of Sabatier's fanciful hypotheses.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Die Echtheit der Mahnrede Justins des Martyrere an die Heiden. By Wilhelm Widman. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1902. 8°, pp. 164.

The author of this work believes that he has good grounds for rejecting the verdict of modern critics that tradition erred in assigning to St. Justin the authorship of the work known as "Cohortatio ad Graecos." His opinion is based entirely on the similarity which, he aims to show, exists between the internal characteristics and form of the "Cohortatio" and the genuine works of St. Justin.

In the first chapter an attempt is made to prove by means of parallel passages that the doctrine of the "Cohortatio" regarding the nature of God and the *Λόγος* and their works and attributes, also concerning demons, the pagan religions and philosophies, and the author's attitude towards certain historical and philosophical matters, are identical with those of St. Justin. All this is worked out with great learning and detail; but a doctrinal or in fact any general subject-index to the early Christian writings shows that in nearly every case these same characteristics are found in the works of other second and third century apologists.

In the second chapter the author studies the "form" of the "Cohortatio" with a view to showing that in its general plan and arrangement, in the style and method of argument, in the diction, the vocabulary and grammatical peculiarities, the construction of sentences, etc., it gives evidence of having come from the same pen as the Apology and the Dialogue with Trypho. This chapter is much more conclusive than the former; but the uncertainty in such a method of argument as pointed out by the author himself (pp. 48–51) militates against the force of the proofs which are adduced.

The last chapter is devoted to an examination of the opinion of Schürer (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* II, 1877–78, pp. 319–331) that the author made use of the Chronicle of Julius Africanus; of Volter (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie,* Vol. XXVI (1883), pp. 180–215) who attributes the work to Apollinaris of Hierapolis; of Dräseke who attributed it to Apollinaris of Loadicea (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* VII (1885), p. 257). This author gives good reasons for rejecting all these opinions, without, however, adding any probability to his own theory. Too much weight is laid on the argument from the manuscript and literary tradition. The

latter does not go back farther than the sixth century, while the former is several centuries later. Eusebius did not include the "Cohortatio" in his list of Justin's works and the same tradition assigns to him several other works which are manifestly of a much later date.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Le Culte des Saints dans L'Afrique Chrétienne d'après les inscriptions et les monuments figurés. By Gaston Rabeau, prêtre de l'Oratoire. Paris: Fontemoing, 1903. 8°, pp. 82.

The wealth of Christian inscriptions in Northern Africa furnishes the material for this study on the veneration paid to the saints by the faithful of that region before the Mohammedan conquest. The author makes use of the literary sources only in so far as they are necessary to explain or illustrate the epigraphical remains. The first chapter which, properly speaking, has very little connection with the main subject of the work is devoted to a discusion of the foundation of churches and altars.

The author explains at some length in the following chapter the meaning of such words as "sanctus," "martyr," "memoria," "nomen," etc. This last word he shows to have meant "protection" the name of a saint or saints being sometimes inscribed to invoke their aid.

The four following chapters treat of the honor shown by the Christians of northern Africa for the Cross, the Holy Land, the Oriental saints, the Roman saints, the Spanish and French saints, and the African saints. Among these latter was a Donatist saint to whom a basilica was dedicated and whose tomb was discovered at Ala Miliaria (Benian). An inscription relates that she suffered death at the hands of the Catholics, that her name was Robba, that she was a religious and sister of Honorius, a Donatist bishop of Agnæ Sirenses.

The usefulness of this work would have been immeasurably increased had the author given facsimile reproductions of the inscriptions which he mentions, or at least of those which are not found in the Corpus. Some texts from Christian writers to which reference is made should have been given in full, and quotations made by chapters, and where possible from other editions than the Migne.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Prælectiones de Locis Sacris, nimirum de Ecclesiis, Oratoriis, Altaribus, Cœmeteriis et Sepulturis. Auctore S. Many. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1904. 8°, pp. 400.

Dr. Many offers these Prælections as a kind of supplement to his recent work on the Mass. However, the reader will remark with satisfaction that the author has not confined his treatment to those points which relate to the Holy Sacrifice, but has taken occasion to give us a very complete and interesting manual on the four topics mentioned in the title.

Too high praise can not be given the author for the exactness and thoroughness which mark the work from beginning to end. It is in every way worthy to serve as a supplement to its predecessor. Especially to be commended are the continuous and judicious citation of texts, the historical introductions prefixed to each section, and the care which has been taken to incorporate the latest decisions of the Roman congregations. The clergy will find here a clear, authoritative treatment of matters with which they are constantly and practically concerned.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Ireland in the New Century. By The Right Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1904. 8°, pp. ix + 300.

This work which is primarily a description of the movement that has been set on foot for the reorganization of Irish agricultural and industrial life, contains two sections entitled respectively Theoretical and Practical. In the first part under such headings as: The English Misunderstanding, The Irish Question in Ireland, The Influence of Politics upon the Irish Mind, The Influence of Religion upon Secular Life in Ireland, A Practical View of Irish Education, Through Thought to Action, an attempt is made to point out and classify the various courses which produced the deplorable conditions existing in Ireland.

The book is frankly Unionist in sentiment, written from the point of view of a man who is "opposed to the plunge into what is called Home Rule" (p. 63), and who believes that the Irish should "regard themselves as partners in the United Kingdom, with the British as the predominant partner" (p. 4). Though realizing the necessity for coöperation among men of all shades of political belief, if the movement in which he is interested is to be carried to a successful issue, Sir Horace Plankett touches on many matters of a controversial character in a manner which cannot fail to arouse intense opposition from

the majority of the Irish people. In designating England's treatment of the sister isle as "seven centuries of experimental statescraft" (p. 9) and attributing the opposition and conflicts of the two countries to mutual misunderstanding (p. 7), Sir Horace may not add much to the placidity but he has certainly made a valuable contribution to the humor of Irish politics. The irenic qualities and purposes of the book will hardly succeed in making the "incomprehensible Celt," as he is styled, swallow this piece of euphemistic optimism which we find in page 19: "I am convinced that the only continued misunderstanding of the conditions and needs of this country (Ireland), the withholding, for so long, of necessary concessions (by Englishmen), was due not to heartlessness or contempt so much as to a lack of imagination, a defect for which the English cannot be blamed."

The same causes which kept alive the enmity for England were in the opinion of the author responsible also for the failure of the Irish people to grapple with internal problems. Two parties, Unionist and Nationalist, alien and native, "differing in race and creed and political aspirations" never worked in harmony, and "in the mutual misunderstanding of these two Irelands, still more than in the misunderstanding of Ireland by England, is to be found the chief cause of the still unsettled state of the Irish question" (p. 37). The remaining chapters of the "theoretical" portion of the work are devoted to pointing out the defects in the Irish mind and character and the lack of "individualistic qualities" which retarded all progress, and to showing "how politics, religion, and systems of education have all, in their respective influences upon the people, missed to a large extent the effect upon character which they should have made it their paramount duty to produce (p. 160). It is impossible to deny to the author the merit of having striven to be thoroughly fair and impartial; nevertheless one cannot help thinking that full justice has not been done to the Irish people either in describing the historical and philosophical causes underlying Irish grievances, or to the part played by the Irish Nationalist party in ameliorating the conditions which existed before the inception of this new movement. This later phase of economic activity is possible now only because of the reforms brought about by Mr. Parnell and the others who continued his work. Did the same atrocious conditions of land tenure exist in Ireland now as when the Land League and kindred organizations came into being such schemes as those advocated by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society would not have a shadow of feasibility.

The author is especially infelicitous in his remarks regarding the

Irish people in the United States. The statement that the Irishman's activity and interest in the politics of his adopted country is brought about by the sentiment of opposition to England ("the bond of anti-English feeling") and his "inherited clannishness" may be attributed to superficial observation or to inexact knowledge regarding American parties and political methods; but no one who is acquainted with the political history of the United States during the last twenty years can fail to detect the source of the statement that: "The Irish immigrants are felt to belong to a kind of *imperium in imperio,* and to carry into American politics ideas which are not American, and which might easily become an embarrassment if not a danger to America" (p. 74). Of a piece with this is the information borrowed from another superficial observer, Rev. O. M. Shinnors, that "large numbers" (of Catholics) lapse into "indifferentism and irreligion" and that "there are reasons to fear that the great majority of the apostates are of Irish extraction, and not a few of them of Irish birth" (note, p. 111). Criticism which falls so wide of the mark cannot fail to detract from the value of the book for American readers.

The second part of the work is much more satisfactory than the first. It deals with the actual work which has been undertaken for the industrial regeneration of Ireland along economic lines. "The practical form which this work took was the launching upon Irish life of a movement of organized self-help, and the subsequent grafting upon this movement of a system of state-aid to the agriculture and industries of the country" (p. 165). The origin of this movement and its progress up to the formation of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, Ltd., of which Sir Horace Plunkett was himself the first president, are described in detail. The various steps which led to the establishment of a "Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction in Ireland and for other purposes connected therewith" and the manifold activities of this Department form the subject of the remaining chapters.

The book is stimulating because it is a record of something achieved. The manner in which the causes underlying the "Irish Question" have been laid bare will provoke criticism, but a discussion carried on in the spirit which animates this work can not fail to solve many of the difficulties and to throw new light on the perplexed problems of Irish life.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden: Sittengeschichtliche Bilder. Von Ernst von Dobschütz. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8°, pp. xiv + 300.

The object of this work is to ascertain from a critical study of early Christian literature how far the moral ideal set forth in the teachings of our Divine Saviour was carried into practice in Christian communities during the first century after Christ's death (30–130). The author analyses with the greatest care all the documents of this period, bearing on the subject of his enquiry, from the Epistles of St. Paul to the "Shepherd" of Hermas. Without subscribing to all his conclusions it can be said that he has produced a work of permanent apologetic value, and one of the most important contributions yet published on the influence of Christianity during the century covered by his investigations.

Taking as his starting-point the ideal of Christian life set forth by Aristides in his apology, the author asks the question "Does this picture correspond with the reality?" "Christians," says the apologist, "have the commandments of God engraven on their hearts, and observe them in expectation of the future world. They do *not* commit adultery or fornication, nor bear false witness, nor embezzle what is held in pledge, nor covet what is not theirs. They honor father and mother, and show kindness to those near them; whenever they are judges they judge uprightly. They do not worship idols (made) in the image of man, and whatsoever they would not that others should do to them, they do not to others; of the food that is consecrated to idols they do not eat, for they are pure. And their oppressors they appease to make them their friends; they do good to their enemies; and their women, O King, are pure as virgins, and their daughters are modest; and their men keep themselves from every unlawful union; and from all uncleanness, in the hope of a recompense to come in the other world. Further, if one or other of them have bondmen and bondwomen of children, through love towards them they persuade them to become Christians, and when they have done so, they call them brethren without distinction. . . . Falsehood is not found among them; and they love one another, and from widows they do not turn away their esteem; and they deliver the orphan from him who treats him harshly. And he who has, gives to him who has not without boasting. And when they see a stranger, they take him into their homes and rejoice over him as a brother" (c. 15). Is this a true picture of Christian life in the first decades of the second century? The author answers in the affirmative. Many imperfections more or less grave, of course, existed in

those days among Christians, but substantially Aristides is justified in his statements.

To understand the situation perfectly a comparison is necessary between the moral status of Christians and that of their pagan contemporaries. It was an age of the highest culture, but yet morally enervated and decadent. The moral ideal handed down from antiquity—the strong man whose life was devoted to the common good—was destroyed by the establishment of the Roman Empire. Freedmen and slaves were the servile instruments of the Emperor in the administration of the State. The Roman Senate, as well as the municipalities of provincial cities were reduced to nullities. Servility was the only means of advancement; independent views were dangerous. The higher classes of society squandered their wealth in unheard of luxury; the poor allowed themselves to be fed. Family life was wanting. Time hung heavy on the hands of all, amusement was the only occupation. Although the State enacted stringent laws against the exploitation of the provinces by officials yet the position of the subject population remained insecure. Wealth was power, even though its possession brought danger; hence, the thirst for gold. Accumulation of riches on the one hand, poverty in all its forms on the other. Hardheartedness was characteristic of the wealthy; hate and envy of the poor. A *modus vivendi* was reached only by the abandonment of personal independence; the client was provided for, but he was also despised and ill-used. Good form demanded humanity; but this term in reality meant nothing more than the avoidance of anything offensive to refined ears. This so-called humanity was insincere. The sorest spot was, however, the moral life in the strictest sense. It is indeed true that many examples of honorable family life might be cited; it would be unjust to the middle class to suppose that the *chronique scandaleuse* of the court conveyed a correct picture of society in general. But it cannot be denied that unparalleled depravity was widespread. Practices which cannot be mentioned were openly tolerated. Divorces occurred daily, adultery was common, impurity was not regarded as sinful. The unnameable vice of an emperor was deified. The education of children was left to slaves; human life was of little value; suicide, voluntary or by command, ended many careers. The philosophy of a Seneca shows the moral bankruptcy of even the best. Such religion as existed in this corrupt society had not the slightest moral force; rather the contrary, for its mythology as dramatized and parodied operated for immorality. The ancient cult renewed by Augustus was merely a form, the cult of the emperor a political act; while the newly in-

troduced oriental superstititions demanded only an outward purification without any internal change.

This was the world to which the heralds of the Gospel had to proclaim their Master's divine message of the forgiveness of sin through God's grace. They enjoyed none of the privileges accorded the Jews by imperial enactments; yet had they courage to express an independent opinion as to what man is and what he must do. Christianity placed before its adherents an Either-Or and demanded from them unreserved religious obedience. In return it supplied a want then universally felt; peace of conscience through reconciliation with God on one side, and on the other a new moral strength, and a new object in life. Stoics and Neo-Platonists have enunciated moral truths of great beauty and purity which, viewed superficially, impose more obligations than the Gospel. But the doctrines of these philosophers were unable to accomplish what Christianity accomplished in all grades of society. It was the force which came forth from Our Lord Jesus Christ that alone effected the moral revolution to which the apologetic literature of those ages bears witness.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Le Bienheureux Thomas More. By Henri Bremond. Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1904. 12°, pp. viii + 193.

Ste Germaine Cousin. By Louis Veuillot, complété par François Veuillot. Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1904. 12°, pp. 11 + 197.

1. These two volumes, lives of a statesman and a peasant girl, will be welcome additions to the Lecoffre series of the Lives of the Saints.

Though the great chancellor of Henry VIII has not yet been canonized there can be no question of the fitness of including his life among "Les Saints." He has been pronounced "Blessed" by the Church which justly considers him a martyr in the cause of religion and morality. The writer spent considerable time in England in the preparation of this work, and though he has thrown no new light on the life of the author of "Utopia" he has shown such delicacy and precision in the analysis of More's character and made such a forcible presentation of the facts in his career that the work cannot fail to be at the same time instructive and edifying.

2. The touching narrative contained in the second volume is largely a reprint of the Life of Germaine Cousin, written by Louis Veuillot shortly after the publication of the decree which made her "Blessed." This is augmented by François Veuillot with many new facts elicited during the process of canonization, and with an account of many miracles accomplished through the intercession of

the Saint. The simple story of Germaine Cousin could, as the author says, be told in half a page. She was a peasant girl deprived of her mother in her childhood and during her short life of twenty-two years exposed to the tyranny of a cruel step-mother. Treated as an outcast in her father's house, her whole life was spent in serving God and tending her flocks. It was not until after her death in a loft over a stable where she was compelled to sleep, that her virtues and sanctity became known to the people of her neighborhood. Her fame dates from the year 1644, forty-three years after her death, when her body was found intact in the grave in the little church of Pibrac where it had lain so long.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Modern Spiritism: A Critical Examination of its Phenomena, Character and Teaching in the Light of the known Facts. J. Godfrey Raupert. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 1904. Pp. vi + 248.

That the claims of Spiritism are now treated with serious consideration is due mainly to the attitude and statements of men distinguished by their scientific attainments. The careful investigations conducted during the past twenty-five years in England and in the United States, have naturally eliminated many of the alleged "phenomena"; but there is still a residuum of fact that calls for explanation. According to one theory, subliminal consciousness accounts for the phenomena; according to another theory, they must be ascribed to the spirits of the dead.

Both theories are rejected by the author of this volume, his criticism being directed especially against the spiritistic view. He admits that communications are received from the spirit-world; but contends that the "intelligences" are not those of the departed. His argument is based on the difficulty of establishing their identity, their love of personation, their general moral character, the effect of spiritistic practices upon sensitives and investigators, and the contradictions found in the teaching of the Spirits. The spiritistic creed is examined in the closing chapter of the work and is found to antagonize the essential beliefs of Christianity.

The discussion is marked by calmness of tone and clearness of statement. Extracts from other works on the subject are numerous, though the references are not always accurate. Oversights occur here and there: "is due," p. 109; "are asked," p. 127; "chose," p. 164; "effect," p. 177; "find," p. 210. On the whole, however, the author presents his view in very readable form.

E. A. PACE.

MISCELLANEOUS.

L'Heure du Matin, ou Méditations Sacerdotales par l'abbé Dunac avec une introduction par Mgr. Elie Méric. 3eme ed. Par l'abbé J. B. Gros. Paris: V. Retaux, 1903. 8°, 2 vols., pp. 392, 431.

These two volumes of short, simple and practical meditations, though meant especially for the clergy of France, will prove useful to any ecclesiastic. They bring, of course, nothing new or very striking. Books of meditation differ not in their content, but in the unction of the writer, in the evidences of his earnestness and experience, in his capacity to distinguish the essential from the accidental, and to put himself at the proper angle whence to judge and advise his audience. The abbé Dunac deals with the sacred orders of the priest and their practical use, with the numerous duties of the priest, both as to objective and subjective exercise, with the virtues he is bound to develop, and the rule of life he should follow. There follow some brief meditations on the chief feasts of the year and considerations on the retreat of the priest.

Spiritual Despondency and Temptations. By Rev. P. J. Michel, S.J. Translated from the French by Rev. E. P. Garesche, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros., 1904. Pp. 278.

This work was written by an experienced spiritual director for the use of persons suffering from grievous temptations, and the despondency which generally accompanies them. The author aims at imparting advice founded on reason rather than on sentiment. The work is intended not only for members of religious communities, but also for persons living in the world who desire to attain perfection. It should prove helpful to those readers whom the author had in view.

Anecdotes and Examples Illustrating the Catholic Catechism. Selected and arranged by Rev. Francis Spirago; supplemented, adapted to the Baltimore Catechism and edited by Rev. James J. Baxter, D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1904.

Everybody will agree with Father Spirago that "the narration of improbable occurrences or stories of a ludicrous and marvelous nature, such as are unfortunately met with in some collections of examples" intended as illustrations of Christian doctrine "should be avoided." His own work is not wholly free from similar faults, and we doubt very much whether many of his anecdotes will prove very interesting or impressive to the average American boy. It is rather curious to

learn that St. Philemon was martyred "during the reign of" the first Christian Emperor, Constantine; that Arius was a priest of Constantinople (p. 34); and that Theodosius the Great favored the Arians (p. 80). Constantine came to the throne in 306, three years after the martyrdom of St. Philemon; Arius is generally believed to have been a priest of Alexandria; and we never before realized that Theodosius I was not the most orthodox of Emperors. Substantially all three anecdotes are true; very little care on the author's part would make them entirely so. Despite these blemishes the work can be used with advantage by judicious catechists who occasionally exercise the privilege of omission.

Jesus the Word Incarnate. From the works of St. Thomas Aquinas by Roger Freddi, S.J. Translated from the Italian by F. J. Sullivan, S.J. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 8°, pp. xi + 403.

The matter of this work is taken exclusively from the writings of the Angelic Doctor. The author restricts himself to "considerations" on Our Lord as the Word of God made flesh, under which general title are chapters on the Mission of Christ, the gifts of the Holy Ghost, Christ as Head of the Church, Christ as Mediator between God and men, the resurrection of Christ, the final judgment, etc. Students of theology will find in this translation a useful summary of the doctrine of St. Thomas on the Incarnation.

Les Derniers Jours de Léon XIII et le Conclave. Par un témoin. Paris: V. Lecroffre, 1904. 8°, pp. 122.

In this reprint from the "Revue des Deux Mondes" the reader will find a veracious account of the last days of Leo XIII and the Conclave that elected his successor. As an appendix there is given the list of votes reached at each session by the various candidates.

Studio Bio-Bibliografico Sul Cardinale Agostino Ciasco. By P. David Aurelio Perini. Rome: 1903. 8°, pp. 257.

The students of biblical and Oriental literature will welcome this narrative of the life of the learned Cardinal Ciasca. It is from the hand of a brother Augustinian, and contains, therefore, a reliable and sympathetic presentation of his career as a philologian, a diplomat, and a student of the Scriptures, in all of which branches he rendered notable service to the Church.

Apologia pro Vita Sua, being a History of His Religious Opinions, By Cardinal Newman. New York: Longmans, 1904. 8°, pp. 176.

This little classic of nineteenth-century polemics is too well known to need any description of its content. By this handy and cheap edition the Longmans have rendered a great service to the cause of Catholicism. It is difficult to read carefully the Apologia and remain unshaken in any fold outside that of the Catholic Church.

Rome and Reunion. By Spencer Jones. New York: Longmans, 1904. 8°, pp. 80.

The author, as yet outside the pale of the Roman Church, argues for a reunion of the Anglican Church with the parent stock, on the grounds of history, experience and common sense. The crux of the situation seems to him the question of jurisdiction. The work appeared originally as an "Inaugural Lecture to the Members of the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury." It deserves to be more widely known and read.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Strong Arm of Avalon. By Mary T. Waggaman. New York: Benziger Bros., 1904. 8°, pp. —.

Harnack and Loisy. By the Rev. T. A. Lacey, M.A.; with an introductory letter by Rt. Hon. Viscount Halifax. New York: Longmans, 1904. 8°, pp. 18.

Rural Conditions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth and thirtenth centuries (Thesis). By Helen Gertrude Preston. Philadelphia, Pa., 1903. 8°, pp. 59.

SOME RECENT FINDS IN THE CATACOMBS.

I. The Basilica of SS. Mark and Marcellianus.—Mgr. Wilpert in recent issues of the *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana* (1–3, 1903) tells the story of two important discoveries made in the cemetery of SS. Mark and Marcellianus. The theory of Wilpert that the cemetery known in antiquity by the names of these two martyrs was to the left, instead of the right of the Via Ardeatina, has been confirmed by explorations in the latter locality. The so-called cemetery of Balbina must, consequently, be known in future as the cemetery of SS. Mark and Marcellianus.

In the early part of 1902 the Abbot of the Trappist monastery at the Catacomb of St. Calixtus accidentally discovered an arcosolium on which could be seen some traces of what was once a large fresco. After a close examination of the arcosolium Wilpert was able to discern a bust of Our Lord, some decorative motives, and a man in pallium and tunic ascending a ladder. The fact that this figure was depicted in the pallium and tunic was an indication that the find was of more than ordinary importance. These garments were reserved in cemeterial art to persons of a sacred character, whence it follows that the man on the ladder represented a martyr. Further investigations brought to light a small cemeterial basilica, with three niches, which was erected in honor of SS. Mark and Marcellianus. The bodies of the two martyrs were buried in a *bisomus* or double tomb, to the left of the entrance. The tomb was closed with a slab, two thirds of which still remains in the original position. No inscription was engraved on the slab, a precaution necessary during the persecution of Diocletian when the Christian cemeteries were confiscated.

The walls of the little basilica are adorned with frescoes several of which represent the usual subjects of cemeterial decoration—symbols of Baptism and the Eucharist, Moses striking the rock and the miraculous multiplication, also the sacrifice of Abraham as a symbol of the Passion. The principal figures were those of the martyrs SS. Mark and Marcellianus, represented on the arcosolium in the dress of sacred personages, and almost life-size. Between the two saints was a third, and much smaller figure of a woman. She is believed to have been the donor of the chapel who received the privilege of burial near the bodies of the saints. Moses loosing his sandals is depicted to the right of this representation.

The most interesting painting in the cycle of this basilica is that which first attracted the attention of Wilpert—the saint ascending the ladder. This was evidently inspired by the Acts of the Martyrdom of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas. St. Perpetua records that in a vision she saw a great ladder reaching from earth to heaven, so narrow that only one person at a time could make the ascent. At the foot of the ladder was a huge dragon, symbol of Satan, which appeared effectually to block the way; but Perpetua, trusting in the name of Jesus Christ, fearlessly approached, and stepping on the monster's head, ascended without further difficulty into the celestial Paradise.

Though the vision of St. Perpetua was well known to the Christians of the epoch subsequent to her martyrdom, this is the first known representation in early Christian art inspired by it. A second and similar representation once existed opposite to this. The upper extremities of both ladders were directed towards a bust of Christ, most of which is still preserved; the foot of the existing ladder rests against a mountain and on a species of snake, representing the dragon, which is thus rendered powerless to impede the martyr's progress. Symbolically the scene represents the triumph of those who die for Christ over the infernal dragon Satan.

II. The Crypt of Pope St. Damasus.—Having found the tombs of SS. Mark and Marcellianus, Wilpert's next efforts were directed to the discovery of the sepulchre of St. Damasus which, according to the mediæval itineraries, was in the vicinity. Following the topographical indications derived from these sources the lost crypt, which turns out to be one of the finest in the catacombs, soon came to light. The walls were once adorned with frescoes and slabs of marble. Two sepulchres were, like the bisomus of SS. Mark and Marcellianus, excavated in the floor; the frescoes were wholly destroyed by the opening, at a later period, of a number of loculi and niches for sarcophagi. Several inscriptions were found and among them that composed by Pope Damasus for his mother's tomb, with another of more than ordinary importance. The first of these epitaphs has been preserved in a rather curious way. Only a small portion of the slab on which it was engraved has been found; but the entire inscription, with the exception of a few words, is preserved on a layer of cement which was subsequently placed over the marble slab enclosing the tomb. The words in consequence are reversed and must be read with the aid of a mirror. They are as follows:

Hic Damasi mater posuit Laure (ntia memb)ra
Quæ fuit in terris centum minus (undecim an)nos
Sexaginta Deo vixit post foe (dera prima)
Progenie quarta vidit quæ (læta nepotes)

The words and letters between brackets are a conjectural reading of the missing parts of the monument.

From this we learn that the Pope's mother lived to be eighty-nine years of age, that her name was Laurentia, that she was a widow consecrated to the service of God sixty years of her life, and that she saw her descendants in the fourth generation.

The second inscription alluded to is in Greek, and contains a prayer that a certain Theodulus may be admitted to the Agape or celestial banquet. To the right of the inscription is engraved a scene in which Theodulus appears before the tribunal of Christ for judgment. Our Lord's right hand is placed on his head as a sign that he is received into the company of the elect, who are represented symbolically by two sheep. The tribunal is enclosed by a chancel which determines the character of the representation. This is one of the most important monuments yet discovered refering to the particular judgment which takes place immediately after death.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

NOTES AND COMMENT.

Did St. Augustine Write: In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas?

Though this famous saying is still frequently cited, it has since the latter half of the nineteenth century lost considerable of its force because of the fact that in Germany and France especially it was no longer considered to have come from the pen of St. Augustine. G. Morin, a contributor to the *Revue d'Histoire et de Litterature Religieuses* (March–April, 1902, p. 147), asked Dr. Odilon Rottmauer, of Munich, the celebrated authority on everything pertaining to St. Augustine, for an opinion on the matter, with the following result:

The axiom *in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas,* cannot be found in any of St. Augustine's works, and in fact no trace of it appears before the sevententh century. At that time an Anglican theologian, Richard Baxter, in a work entitled "The True and Only Way of Concord of all the Christian Churches," published in 1679 ("Works," Vol. IV, p. 626), expressed himself as follows:

"I repeat to you the Pacificator's old and despised words: *si in necessariis (esset) unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque caritas, optimo certe loco essent res nostrae.*"

The question then arises, who was the "Pacificator" mentioned by Baxter?

Probably the author who wrote under the name of Rupertus Meldenius, and whose work, "Paræenesis votiva pro pace Ecclesiæ, ad Theologos Augustanæ Confessionis," dating approximately from 1627–1635, contains the following passage: *Verbo dicam: si nos servaremus in necessariis Unitatem, in non necessariis Libertatem, in utrisque Caritatem, optimo loco essent res nostrae.*

Another claimant for the honor of having originated this maxim is Gregory Frank who published at Francfort on the Oder in 1628 a work entitled "Consideratio Theologica de Gradibus Necessitatis Dogmatum Christianorum," which ends as follows: *summa est: servemus in necessariis unitatem, in non necessariis libertatem, in utrisque caritatem.*

As the work of Rupertus Meldenius contained no indication of the year nor place of publication it is impossible to decide which of the two authors was the earlier. It has been conjectured that they

not assimilated to Greek or Roman divinities. (*b*) The gods of the insular Celts; direct evidence with regard to their names and functions; indirect evidences furnished by the heroic sagas of the Christian period; the "Tuatha De Danann." (*c*) A discussion of the question whether there was any general Celtic pantheon.

XII. Druidism. (*a*) The traditional views of the subject; Neo-Druidism, its rise and significance. (*b*) The actual evidence with regard to the Gaulish Druids and their work; their connection with education and with the industries; their philosophical doctrine; their rites and ceremonies—the gathering of the mistletoe, human sacrifice. (*c*) The Druids in Ireland and Wales; their place in the sagas; Bertrand's theory of a connection between the communities of Druids and the early Irish monasteries. (*d*) The disappearance of the Druids.

Professor Robinson also gave two public evening lectures; one on January 26, setting forth the present state of Celtic studies, and one on February 4, dealing with the ancient Celtic Paradise as described in Irish and Welsh literature.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL COLLECTION FOR 1903.

The undersigned has great pleasure in presenting herewith to the patrons of the University a complete list of all the moneys received up to date from the collection ordered by His Holiness, the Sovereign Pontiff, in favor of the University; and also a list of all other contributions received by the University from its several patrons up to the 31st day of last March inclusively, the end of the fiscal year.

The University appreciates most highly the generous response made by its friends to its appeal during the past year, and while returning its most profound and sincere thanks, it respectfully begs a continuation of their generous sympathy especially during this period of formation. The University hopes that with a few more years of generous support like the past, it will be placed on a basis of sure and permanent footing.

Most respectfully and gratefully,

THE RECTOR.

May 18, 1904.

STATEMENT.

The University Collection, 1903, to date, as follows:—

Boston.		
Archdiocese of Boston, Mass.,	$9,000.00	
Diocese of Providence, R. I.,	5,000.00	
" Hartford, Conn.,	3,505.46	
" Springfield, Mass.,	2,830.27	
" Manchester, N. H.,	1,130.96	
" Portland, Me.,	750.00	$22,216.69
New York.		
Archdiocese of New York, N. Y.,	7,500.00	
Diocese of Brooklyn, N. Y.,	4,425.14	
" Newark, N. J.,	2,482.01	
" Albany, N. Y.,	1,300.00	
" Buffalo, N. Y.,	1,360.14	
" Syracuse, N. Y.,	1,000.00	
" Trenton, N. J.,	500.00	
" Ogdensburg, N. Y.,	360.00	18,927.29

Philadelphia.		
Archdiocese of Philadelphia, Pa.,	6,815.11	
Diocese of Pittsburg, Pa.,	3,629.60	
" Altoona, Pa.,	1,256.84	
" Erie, Pa.,	1,150.00	
" Harrisburg, Pa.,	535.06	13,386.61
Cincinnati.		
Archdiocese of Cincinnati, Ohio,	1,375.00	
Diocese of Louisville, Ky.,	2,189.92	
" Cleveland, Ohio,	2,096.75	
" Detroit, Mich.,	1,285.94	
" Fort Wayne, Ind.,	934.70	
" Indianapolis, Ind.,	742.00	
" Grand Rapids, Mich.,	688.73	
" Covington, Ky.,	502.11	
" Nashville, Tenn.,	370.00	10,185.15
Chicago.		
Archdiocese of Chicago, Ill.,	3,842.96	
Diocese of Peoria, Ill.,	4,000.00	
" Alton, Ill.,	852.53	
" Belleville, Ill.,	160.00	8,855.49
Baltimore.		
Archdiocese of Baltimore, Md.,	6,004.00	
Diocese of Wheeling, W. Va.,	781.84	
" Richmond, Va.,	513.00	
" Wilmington, Del.,	200.00	
" Charleston, S. C.,	121.93	
" St. Augustine, Fla.,	35.00	
Vicariate-Apostolic of North Carolina,	35.00	7,690.77
Dubuque.		
Archdiocese of Dubuque, Iowa,	3,000.00	
Diocese of Davenport, Iowa,	410.00	
" Omaha, Neb.,	398.16	
" Lincoln, Neb.,	284.61	4,092.77
San Francisco.		
Archdiocese of San Francisco, Cal.,	2,582.00	
Diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles,	512.00	
" Sacramento, Cal.,	400.00	
" Salt Lake City, Utah,	91.00	3,585.00

Milwaukee.		
Archdiocese of Milwaukee, Wis.,	1,996.62	
Diocese of Green Bay, Wis.,	1,041.25	
" Marquette, Mich.,	486.70	3,524.57
St. Louis.		
Archdiocese of St. Louis, Mo.,	1,528.13	
Diocese of Kansas City, Mo.,	521.00	
" Wichita, Kans.,	373.00	
" Concordia, Kans.,	209.51	
" St. Joseph, Mo.,	207.00	2,838.64
St. Paul.		
Archdiocese of St. Paul, Minn.,	2,000.00	
Diocese of St. Cloud, Minn.,	200.00	
" Fargo, N. Dakota,	150.00	2,350.00
New Orleans.		
Archdiocese of New Orleans, La.,	951.27	
Diocese of Mobile, Ala.,	358.62	
" Galveston, Tex.,	244.73	
Vicariate-Apostolic of Indian Territory,	112.47	
Diocese of San Antonio, Tex.,	112.00	
" Natchez, Miss.,	104.70	
Vicariate-Apostolic of Brownsville, Tex.,	51.00	1,934.79
Oregon.		
Archdiocese of Oregon City, Ore.,	200.00	
Diocese of Nesqually, Wash.,	191.25	
" Boise City, Idaho,	99.12	
" Helena, Mont.,	57.25	
" Baker City, Ore.,	30.00	577.62
Santa Fe.		
Diocese of Denver, Colo.,		290.00
		$100,455.39

The above represents the following:

Archdioceses,	13
Dioceses,	55
Vicariates,	3
Total heard from	71

Endowments.

Mr. Timothy Riordan, Baltimore, Md., bequest, for Scholarships Caldwell Hall,	$16,590.01

Rev. Anthony H. Walburg, Cincinnati, Ohio, towards endowment Chair of German Language and Literature, ...	10,000.00	
Rev. Joseph Brennan, Sharon, Pa., bequest, for Scholarship, Diocese of Erie,.....	5,000.00	
Mrs. Eliza P. Dean, Boston, Mass., towards Archbishop Williams' Chair, ...	100.00	$31,690.01

The Bishops' Guarantee Fund.

His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons,.....	$1,000.00	
Most Rev. Patrick W. Riordan, D.D.,.....	2,000.00	
Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D.,.....	1,000.00	
Most Rev. Patrick J. Ryan, D.D.,.....	1,000.00	
Most Rev. John J. Keane, D.D.,.....	1,000.00	
Rt. Rev. John L. Spalding, D.D.,.....	1,000.00	
Rt. Rev. Matthew Harkins, D.D.,.....	1,000.00	
Rt. Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D.D.,.....	1,000.00	
Rt. Rev. Michael Tierney, D.D.,.....	1,000.00	
Rt. Rev. Dennis M. Bradley, D.D.,.....	500.00	
Rt. Rev. Michael J. Hoban, D.D.,.....	200.00	
Rt. Rev. Camillus P. Maes, D.D.,.....	100.00	$10,800.00

Guarantee Fund for General Expenses.

The Misses Jenkins, Baltimore, Md., ...	$200.00	
Mr. and Mrs. James E. Sullivan, Providence, R. I., ...	200.00	
Rt. Rev. F. J. O'Reilly, D.D., Peoria, Ill.,....	100.00	
Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. F. Mooney, D.D., New York, N. Y., ...	100.00	
Rev. P. F. McSweeney, New York, N. Y.,.....	100.00	
Rev. Hugh O'Gara McShane, Chicago, Ill.,...	100.00	
Rev. Thomas J. O'Brien, Brooklyn, N. Y.,....	100.00	
Mrs. C. L. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.,.....	100.00	
Hon. W. Burke Cockran, New York, N. Y., ..	100.00	
Mr. Michael Jenkins, Baltimore, Md.,.....	100.00	
Mr. John Quinn, New York, N. Y.,.....	74.00	
Rev. Gerald P. Coghlan, Philadelphia, Pa.,...	50.00	
Rev. C. H. Jeannotte, North Adams, Mass.,...	50.00	
Rev. D. J. Riordan, Chicago, Ill.,.....	50.00	
Rev. John T. Sheehan, Ware, Mass.,.....	40.00	
Rev. D. A. Cunnion, New York, N. Y.,.....	25.00	
Rev. W. C. Currie, Philadelphia, Pa.,.....	25.00	

Rev. Thomas Finn, Rochelle, Ill.,	25.00	
Rev. Joseph P. Monville, Philadelphia, Pa.,	25.00	
Rev. L. A. Deering, Carlisle, Pa.,	20.00	
Rev. N. Nageleisen, New York, N. Y.,	20.00	
Rev. John T. Mullen, Boston, Mass.,	20.00	
Rev. T. F. Doran, Providence, R. I.,	20.00	
Rev. James V. Hanrahan, Milford, Mass.,	20.00	
Rev. C. A. Sullivan, Worcester, Mass.,	10.00	1,674.00

Bequests and Donations.

Most Rev. F. X. Katzer, D.D., Milwaukee, Wis., bequest,	$1,800.00
Mr. John Gallagher, Chicago, Ill., bequest, balance,	750.00
Mr. J. A. Patterson, Hatchicouchee, Ala., donation,	10.00
Mr. Patrick Ford, donation,	2.00
Mr. Schmidt, Kent, Tex., donation,	1.00
Mr. H. H. Buse, Cincinnati, Ohio, donation,	1.00
	$147,183.40

With these moneys have been paid the deficit of last year, and also $68,743.24 of indebtedness, leaving at present no floating debts of any kind, and only the funded debt of $160,000.00 held by the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New Jersey.

Since the 1st of April, 1904, $100,000 have been invested. Of this amount $50,000 were received from the Knights of Columbus, April 13, 1904, and the other $50,000 were received during the year from different sources.

Subsequent to the printing of the Rector's circular, collections were received as follows:

Diocese of Scranton,	$2,300.00
" Burlington,	310.00
" La Crosse,	473.87
Total from Collections,	$103,539.26

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees.—The Trustees of the University held their regular annual meeting on Wednesday, April 13.

Gift of a Bust of Archbishop Williams.—On Wednesday, April 27, in the presence of the assembled faculties and students, a marble bust of the Most Rev. John Joseph Williams, Archbishop of Boston, was presented to the University in the name of the clergy of that Archdiocese. The bust is the work of the distinguished Boston sculptor, Mr. Samuel Kitson. There were present as representatives of the clergy: Rt. Rev. Mgr. Byrne, V.G., Rev. Michael Ronan, Rev. R. J. Johnson, Rev. Richard Nagle and Rev. William H. Fitzpatrick. The presentation speech was made by Mgr. Byrne and was responded to by the Right Rev. Rector of the University.

The Universities of the Netherlands.—The University has received notice through Mr. Adee, Second Assistant Secretary of State, that the certificate of Bachelor of Arts granted by the Catholic University of America, will be recognized by admitting the holders thereof to study in the universities of the Netherlands.

The Mary Crowley Johnson Theological Scholarship.—Mr. Edward Johnson of Watertown, Wisconsin, has given the University the sum of $5,000, to found a theological Scholarship for the Archdiocese of Milwaukee. It is to be known, in memory of his deceased wife, as the Mary Crowley Johnson Scholarship. For this generous action the University hereby returns its sincere thanks to Mr. Johnson, and assures him that the memory of his beloved wife will always be held in special honor by us, also that the holder of the scholarship will ever consider it his duty to remember at the altar of God the soul to which he owes the superior opportunities that he is enjoying.

Gift of $1000 from Mr. John D. Crimmins.—The University acknowledges with gratitude the gift of $1,000 from Mr. John D. Crimmins, of New York City. This contribution was sent through his Grace, Archbishop Farley, and was meant as a thank-offering to the Almighty for His goodness to the donor. May the Giver of all good gifts prolong for many years the life of our generous benefactor!

Gift to the University.—The University acknowledges with gratitude the gift of five hundred dollars from Madame Ellen Cannon

of Council Bluffs, Ia., in memory of Rev. M. T. Schiffmacher, late of Neola, Ia.; also of the sum of four hundred and twenty-four dollars and sixty-two cents from the estate of the late Mr. Bryan Lawrence, of New York City.

Gift of a Very Rare Book.—Among other useful books, Rev. Arthur M. Clark has presented to the Historical Academy a very valuable and rare work written by the famous descendent of the Incas, Garcilasso de la Vega. It is the oldest account of the discovery of the immense southern territory long known as Florida. The full title is as follows: La Florida del Ynca, Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Governador y capitain general del Reyno de Florida, y de otroos heroicos cavalleres Españoles e Indios, escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, capitain de su Magestad, natural de la gran ciudad del Cuzco, cabeca de los Reynos y provincias del Peru, Dirigida al serenissimo principe, Duque de Bragança, etc. Con licencia de la santa Inquisicion, En Lisbona, Impresso par Pedro Crasbeeck Año 1605.

Gifts to the Library.—Mr. Thomas Griffin of Washington, D. C., has presented the Library with the following books:

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion, 135 volumes with maps.

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, 17 volumes, complete.

The Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, 4 volumes with maps.

Lectures and Papers by Professors.—Dr. Albert F. Zahm read a paper on "Surface Friction of the Air at speeds below forty feet a second" before the National Academy of Sciences, on April 21, 1904.

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. X. *October, 1904.* *No. 4.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
LANCASTER, PA., AND WASHINGTON, D. C.

Press of
The New Era Printing Company,
Lancaster, Pa.

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. X. *October, 1904.* *No. 4.*

THE ROMAN CHURCH BEFORE CONSTANTINE.[1]

In these pages I shall attempt to set forth, in a very summary way, the relations of the Roman Church with the other churches from its origin to the reign of Constantine (312–337), laying more especial stress on the Greek-speaking Christian communities.

I.

St. Irenæus wrote his great work against heresies shortly after the reign of Marcus Aurelius (†180). Alleging the tradition of the great churches against the Gnostics, he begins by quoting the teaching of the Church of Smyrna, which through St. Polycarp went back to the Apostle John; then he continues:

"But since it would be too long to enumerate here the succession of bishops in all the churches, it is sufficient for me to indicate the Apostolic tradition, the faith that has come down to us through the succession of bishops in the Church of Rome, great and ancient among all the churches,[1] universally known, founded at Rome by the two glorious Apostles Paul and Peter. This tradition suffices to confound all those who in whatever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, or by vain glory, or by blindness and perverse opinion, are outside

[1] The following article is taken, with permission, from the work of Mgr. Louis Duchesne, entitled *Autonomies Ecclésiastiques: Eglises Séparées*, Paris, 1896. New edition, 1904. Mgr. Duchesne is well known as the author of a monumental edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, he is actually the Director of the French School of History and Archeology at Rome, and President of the Historico-Liturgical Commission appointed to revise the Roman Breviary. The translation is from the pen of Rev. Joseph W. Reilly, St. Joseph's Seminary (1904), Dunwoodie, New York.

[2] *Maximæ et antiquissimæ.*

the truth. In truth, such is the superior preëminence of this Church that, of necessity, every Church—I mean the whole body of the faithful in every country,—agrees with her, every Church in which, whatever be the country, has been preserved uninterruptedly the apostolic tradition.'"[1]

It is hard to find a more concise expression (1) of the doctrinal unity in the universal Church; (2) of the sovereign and unique importance of the Roman Church as witness, guardian, and organ of the apostolic tradition; (3) of its superior preeminence in the group of Christian communities.

Moreover, a mere glance at the state of the Church towards the end of the second century suffices to show how correct is the impression transmitted to us by the holy bishop of Lyons. Where are, at this time, the great central cities which later held so important a place in the religious hierarchy? Jerusalem contains only a very small band of Greek Christians, colonists that have come from the Greek cities of Palestine, with no link binding them to the primitive community in which the Apostles lived. Of Byzantium it is needless to speak; everything leads us to think that it had still no bishop. Alexandria had one, and its list of bishops goes back to the apostolic age; but in the time of St. Irenæus Alexandria was hardly known except for its fruitfulness in Gnostic heresies. Thanks to the souvenirs of the New Testament and its very ancient bishop, the famous martyr Ignatius, Antioch enjoyed somewhat greater prominence. Of the successors of St. Ignatius one would be puzzled to find anything to say. If Theophilus of Antioch had already written his apologetic works, if the "Pædagogus" and other writings of Clement were already in circulation among the educated Alexandrians, the ink was scarcely dry upon them. This literature, in fact, has nothing which marks it as the expression of the Church's tradition; any Christian whatever might have written it in any place. We must wait for Bishops Demetrius of Alexandria and Serapion of Antioch, that is until the time of the Severi, before we see these two cities appear as great centers of ecclesiastical thought.

From the point of view of tradition, there was, in fine,

[1] Irenæus Adversus Haereses, III, 3.

only one situation comparable to the position of Rome; it was that of Asia properly so called, the land which preserved the splendid souvenirs of St. John, St. Philip, Polycarp, Papias, of Thraseas, of Melito, and of so many other noted Christians. In citing the tradition of these churches by the side of Rome's, St. Irenæus showed a very correct insight into the ecclesiastical relations then existing. Now Rome, at this very time, enjoyed an especial preëminence over the famous Christian communities of Asia, and this is attested by the following facts:

II.

1. St. Paul's letter to the Romans extols the celebrity of this Christian community, still in its infancy; "Your faith," he writes, "is spoken of throughout the whole world." Even without this significant compliment, the fact that St. Paul addressed this letter to the Church of Rome, shows the exceptional importance of this community. The Epistle to the Romans is (in fact) a great doctrinal manifesto. It resumes the long debates maintained by the Apostle against the Judaizers and defines his views upon the universality of the Gospel. It is hard to imagine that he was moved to draw up this summary because of any special preoccupation with the conditions prevalent in the Roman Church; he as yet knew it only by hearsay; it seems that the preaching of Christianity at Rome had as yet met with no opposition from the Judaizers, as was the case with St. Paul's missions at Antioch, in Galatia, and at Corinth. Why did he deem it a duty to explain his teachings to the Roman Church? Doubtless, because from the very moment of its foundation he recognized its very great importance.

2. Later, Paul came to Rome; St. Peter also sojourned there at a date and during a period which it is hard to determine; both were martyred and buried there. In this way the metropolis of the Roman world was definitely consecrated as the center of Christian unity. Again, the Jewish soul in its dreams and prophecies had long been contrasting the great Babylon of the West with the holy city of Jerusalem. Now, at the moment of Peter and Paul's death, Jerusalem saw the departure of the old disciples of Christ and the approach of

the imperial armies which were to end its political destinies.

Antioch, the second Christian metropolis in the order of time, might have succeeded Jerusalem; but it was too distant from the center with relation to the rest of the empire; its sphere of influence was too limited. Rome was the city chosen.

Rome was, no doubt, the capital of the empire; and this explanation has often been given for the preëminence of the Roman Church. Let us consider this objection. In the first place, ecclesiastical tradition, unanimous in seeing in the bishops of Rome the successors of the Apostle Peter, and recognizing in this title striking prerogatives, never presented them as resulting from the fact that these bishops had their see in the capital, but as due solely to the fact that they were the successors and vicars of St. Peter. If there were exceptions to this way of viewing things, they were found only in the Byzantine world, and this for the purpose of defending the comparison, introduced since the time of Theodosius, between the pontiffs of the new Rome and those of ancient Rome.[1]

Even if it were true that the position of Rome as capital of the Empire did help to emphasize the importance of the Roman Church, are we not right in seeing in this a means prepared by Providence to insure a center for the growing religion? Believers are united in seeing the finger of God in the marvelous history of the Roman Empire, and in the services rendered to the Christian propaganda by Rome's peace-fostering institutions. Why are we forbidden to see a providential design in the choice of Rome as the see of St. Peter and the residence of his successors?

---

[1] I have remarked with regret that the encyclical of the patriarch of Constantinople, issued in reply to Leo XIII's encyclical *Praeclara* seems to put the sojourn of St. Peter at Rome in the class of doubtful facts, and tries to explain the universal tradition upon this point of fact by the "pseudo-Clementines." This system, which is contrary to the belief hitherto held in the Greek, as well as the Latin Church, owes its origin to the investigations of F. Christian Baur and the rationalistic school of Tübingen. It is now abandoned by the entire learned world in Germany and elsewhere. Many of those who were deceived in the matter, like the illustrious Anglican Bishop Lightfoot, have returned to the traditional belief. Renan himself regretted the concessions which he at first made to the Tübingen claims. Is it not saddening to see bishops authorize in this way theories that have long been rejected, and abandon for them the traditions of all their predecessors, of all the Doctors of the Church? Is it passion that blinds them?

3. Towards the year 97, the Church of Corinth was troubled by grave dissensions. The Roman Church, on learning this, thought it proper to interfere. It was not the Corinthians who had requested Rome to do this; Rome took the initiative, conscious that its position imposed this duty. In the name of the Roman Church, Clement, its bishop, wrote to the Church of Corinth a long letter exhorting the faithful to return to harmony and submission to the ecclesiastical superiors. This letter was carried to Corinth by three messengers, Claudius Ephebus, Valerius Bito, and Fortunatus. Towards the end of the Epistle there is found a passage very well adapted to give an idea of the tone of authority which prevails throughout the document: "You will give us great joy if, obedient to that which we have written to you in the Holy Ghost, you will bring to an end this unjust violence of your anger, according as we have exhorted you to do, recommending peace and concord to you by this letter. We have sent faithful and prudent men who, from their youth to their old age, have lived blameless amongst us; they will be witnesses between you and us. If we act thus, it is because our sole concern has been and still is your prompt return to peace."[1]

Whether we consider this spontaneous act of the Roman Church in itself, or weigh the words of the letter, we cannot escape the impression that, at the end of the first century of our era, fifty years after its foundation, this Church felt itself already in possession of superior exceptional authority, which it will not cease to claim later. At the time when Clement wrote the Apostle John was still living at Ephesus. There is no evidence of interference either from him or from his disciples, although it was easier to communicate with Corinth from Ephesus than from Rome.

Now, what welcome did the Corinthians give to the exhortations and the envoys of the Roman Church? So perfect a welcome that Clement's epistle was placed by them almost on a par with the Sacred Scriptures. Seventy years later, it was still read on Sundays in the gatherings of the faithful.[2] Rome had commanded—and they had obeyed.

[1] Clem. Ep. ad Cor. c. 58.
[2] Dionysius of Corinth, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, IV, 23.

4. About twenty years after these events, St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was brought to Rome, to be there exposed to the beasts in the amphitheater. From the coast of Asia he wrote to the Roman Church. We must examine in what tone he speaks of the Roman community. During his sojourn in Asia he had already had occasion to write to the illustrious churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, Philadelphia and others; the titles of his letters always contain a number of epithets in honor of the communities addressed. In the case of the Roman Church, these epithets are more numerous and especially more significant, than in the case of the others. There is question of its preëminence. "It presides in the country of the Romans; it presides at the 'agape' (or 'over charity')."[1]

If the martyr had addressed his words to the bishop of Rome, these marks of precedence could be interpreted as local, since it is always the bishop that presides in his church. But here it is not a question of the bishop, it is a question of the church. Over what does the Roman Church preside? Over certain other churches within definite limits? But Ignatius knows nothing of a limitation of this kind. Besides, did there exist in Italy at this time Christian communities distinct in their organization from the Roman Church? The most natural sense of this language is that the Roman Church presides over the united churches. As the bishop presides in his church over the works of charity, so does the Roman Church preside over these same works in the whole Christian world.[2] Let us bear in mind that Ignatius speaks with knowledge of the case; he knows the past of the Roman Church; he even alludes to situations and acts of which no record remains: "You have never deceived anybody;[3] you have instructed others. As for myself, I wish that everything which you command in your instruction, remain incontestable." What instruction and what commands are in question here? We can scarcely think that the letter to the Corinthians is meant; the circumstances of the Corinthian case are of too particular a

[1] *προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης.*

[2] This is recognized by A. Harnack in an interesting article read February 6, 1896, before the Academy of Berlin, which came to my knowledge after the first publication of this chapter.

[3] Ignat. Ep. ad Rom. c. 3. *ἐβασκάνατε*: the sense of this word here is slightly obscure, but it almost corresponds to the translation given.

nature; it is not even very certain that this incident came within the field of the Saint's knowledge; we do not find him in relation with Corinth. Is it a question of the "Shepherd of Hermas"? But it is very doubtful whether this book was published by this time. The simplest solution is to admit other acts, other documents, which still lived in the memory of the Saint's contemporaries, but have since been lost. At all events, the way in which he speaks of the authority of the Roman Church in the matter of teaching and of the commands which it addressed to the other churches, is altogether remarkable.

5. I have just mentioned Hermas and the "Shepherd." According to the express words of this book, the visions which it contains have been received, not for the good of Hermas alone or for the Romans alone, but for all the churches; they are to be communicated to all the communities. In fact, the book of Hermas enjoyed a universal reputation and consideration in the ancient Church. It fell into discredit later, but not before the third century. In the hundred years following its appearance, it was so esteemed that in certain places it was put on a level with the canonical books. A like honor was paid to the epistle of St. Clement.

6. Moreover, if we except the books which rightly or wrongly bore at their head the names of the Apostles, the Letter[1] of Clement and the "Shepherd" of Hermas are the only works which, in certain churches of the East, thus won a place either in the canon or in the appendices to it. This extraordinary honor shown to two Roman authors is very worthy of remark. Later, a similar consideration was attached to a book, genuine or spurious, of a third Roman, St. Hippolytus. One of the canonical compilations of the Coptic Church contains a collection of the "Canons of Hippolytus of Rome."

7. As regards Clement, we can point to other traces of the singular respect with which his memory was regarded in the East. I say in the East, for the West came to recognize his

[1] I should have said the letters, for the homily ordinarily called the "Second Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians," was treated with the same respect as the first, as soon as the name of Clement was attached to it.

greatness only at a later time and this through translations from the Greek, dating from the beginning of the fifth century. It is in Syria, before the time of Origen, *i. e.*, toward the end of the second century, that the famous romance of the "Journeys of St. Peter" from Jerusalem to Antioch, was composed. In this romance Clement plays one of the main parts; he is the companion of St. Peter, his disciple par excellence, his witness and his helper in his struggles against Simon the Magician; moreover, it is Clement who is supposed to be the writer of the book. Among the pieces joined to the principal composition, a letter of Clement's, addressed to James, Bishop of Jerusalem, describes at length how, before St. Peter's martyrdom, the Apostles had presented Clement to the faithful of Rome as chosen to rule the Church after his death.

Another Syrian work, belonging in substance to the third century, but retouched in the following century, the "Apostolic Constitutions," has preserved for us a picture of the discipline and the liturgy of these ancient times, under the form of "Commands given by the Apostles." The Apostles are supposed to hold a great council, in which each of them formulates his commands upon various points of ecclesiastical discipline. The Apostles are not alone; Clement is with them; he serves as their secretary; to him they entrust the charge of promulgating their decrees.

The same rôle of secretary and interpreter of the Apostles is assigned to Clement in a writing similar to the former and still older, the "Ecclesiastical Canons," which is placed at the head of one of the books of Egyptian ecclesiastical law. It is the same case with the celebrated collection called "Canons of the Apostles," which was admitted into the code of the Byzantine Church at the Council of Trullo (692). It is always the same idea: Clement, successor to St. Peter in the See of Rome, is the most authoritative witness of the apostolic tradition; the Apostles have charged him with the task of giving it literary expression and of communicating it to the churches.

Nor must I be reproached with having made use of apocryphal documents. I understand perfectly that the historical value of these documents is either slight or none at all. But

they exist; they were composed in the third and fourth centuries, not in the Latin ecclesiastical world, but in the East; the compilers of these writings would not have pictured Clement as the disciple, secretary, and successor of the Apostles, if they had not had a very high notion of the authority attaching to his name and his position in the Church. This is the idea which I state and emphasize. Strictly speaking, it could be maintained that the prominence assigned to Clement might have been suggested by a passage of the "Shepherd," where Clement seems to be represented as intrusted with the correspondence between the Roman Church and the other churches. But it is a far cry from this to the extraordinary part which devolves upon him in the "Clementines" and the various "Apostolic Constitutions." The explanation is plainly insufficient.

8. The East, therefore, readily placed its disciplinary rules under the patronage of the ancient Roman Church. Important indications, more serious in character than the writings of which I have just spoken, allow us to attribute to the Roman Church the redaction of the oldest Creed[1]. From the middle of the second century at least, the Roman Church had a formula of faith which the convert had to recite at Baptism, which he promised to profess during his whole life, and which served as a standard of doctrine (*regula fidei*). The writings of Irenæus and Tertullian suppose this formula, commonly called the "Apostles Creed," to be not only in existence but in possession of all its authority. It is only later that it makes its appearance in the East, for the first time, in the works of Origen—that is to say, in the following generation. Additions were there made to the Creed in various ways, as was the case also in the West; but everywhere it remained essentially the same. It is clear that so definite a formula could not have

[1] The same thing might be said of the formation of the New Testament. Upon this point, however, I shall refrain from entering into details. That would carry me too far. At any rate, the proof, for which various data have been gathered by A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 363, will scarcely have its full force unless we take into account the fact of the exceptional influence of the Roman Church in the second century. As it is precisely this fact which I wish to establish here, I think I ought to avoid everything that may have the semblance of a "*petitio principii*." But personally I think, with Harnack, that the New Testament was formed at Rome after agreement with the churches of Asia.

been composed in the same terms in different places. It has one birth-place and Rome is the place indicated by the chronology of the testimonies.[1]

9. From Rome, also, comes the most anciently attested of our episcopal lists. Here, earlier than elsewhere, care was taken, it seems, to give this significant expression to the idea of the apostolic succession. Although the episcopal lists of Antioch and Alexandria are very venerable, yet they are attested only by the use which Eusebius makes of them in the beginning of the fourth century; that of Rome is in St. Irenæus and existed long before the end of the second century.

10. St. Irenæus was entirely correct in saying that the Church of Rome was "known by all." It is indeed marvelous to see visitors from the most distant countries flocking thither during the entire second century. Some are sincere Christians, who intend to remain in the traditional faith, and who make the journey to Rome to strengthen this faith. St. Justin comes there from Greek Palestine, Hegesippus from Syrian Palestine, Tatian from Assyria, Abercius Marcellus from Phrygia. Asia especially furnishes a noteworthy contingent of travelers, some of whom come and return, while others remain. St. Polycarp, more than eighty years old, does not hesitate to journey thither from Smyrna, for the purpose of settling the Paschal controversy long pending between the Roman Church and the Asiatics. After him, we may cite Rhodon, and Irenæus himself, the future bishop of Lyons. In the following generation Origen undertakes the journey to Rome, simply from a desire to "see this very ancient Church." In Africa Tertullian shows himself constantly preoccupied with the Roman Church, whether he invokes its authority against the Gnostic heresies, or, as a Montanist and rigorist, pursues it with his diatribes. With the Christian community of Carthage, already so important, he does not seem to trouble himself much; for him, the center of Catholic authority and direction is at Rome, and not in Africa.

11. The heretics are not less numerous. They, too, are attracted by the importance of the Roman community, where

[1] Cf. the discussion of these in the valuable work of Caspari "*Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*," Vol. III.

they hope to gain disciples. Certain ones among them go farther; they conceive the design of taking a hand in the direction of the Church itself; this is proved in the case of Marcion, perhaps also of Valentinus. Marcion came from Pontus, Valentinus from Egypt; from here also, under the episcopate of Anicetus, we remark the arrival of the famous female heretic, Marcellina, teacher of the Carpocratian sect. Prior to Marcion, the Syrian Cerdo spent some time in Rome. Every one of these heretics, it is true, succeeded in misleading a number of weak minds, but they met an insurmountable obstacle in the vigilant heads of the Church, whom they tried in vain to deceive by false protestations and pretended conversions. It is clear that they continued to maintain themselves at Rome and used the influence of this great Christian center to further the success of their own enterprises. In the time of St. Irenæus, a Gnostic teacher, Florinus, succeeded by dissimulation in winning a seat in the college of presbyters.

At the end of the second century, we remark the arrival of other celebrated heretics. The doctrine which will later be condemned in the person of Paul of Samosata and of Photinus, first attains prominence at Rome in the teaching of Theodotus of Byzantium.[1] Towards the same period Praxeas and Epigonus, coming from Asia, open at Rome a school of Modalistic theology, the theology with which the name of Sabellius remains connected. The Montanists, also, make their appearance there; a little later, there are found the Elkasaites of Syria, represented by a certain Alcibiades. It seems that the East could produce no heresy without at once finding it necessary to present it in the theatre of Rome. Now, the appearance of a heresy at Rome meant its prompt and striking condemnation. It was at Rome that Valentinus, Cerdo, and Marcion were expelled from the Church, as soon as they had made themselves known; it was the same with Theodotus of Byzantium, with Sabellius, and with many others.

The Montanists of Phrygia long tried to shield themselves under the authority of the Roman Church. In their own country, they had from the start encountered quite lively opposi-

[1] This Theodotus is the oldest Byzantine Christian of whom we have knowledge.

tion; for they were leading many astray by their prophecies and austerities. From Lyons the martyrs of 177 intervened in their favor with Pope Eleutherius. Ten years later, St. Irenæus treats them severely in his treatise "On Heresies." In the Roman "milieu," ever tenacious of tradition, the authorities hesitated to take part against prophecy and the Paraclete. The matter dragged on until the beginning of the third century. A final attempt of the Montanist agents, says Tertullian, seemed at first to win the approbation of Pope Zephyrinus. To settle the case, documents emanating from his predecessors, *auctoritates praecessorum ejus*[1] were alleged. But Zephyrinus reconsidered the matter in time; instead of countenancing the Montanist movement he condemned it.

From the history of this affair, the details of which remain obscure, one fact stands forth clearly, namely, that the Phrygian disturbance met its counterblow at Rome; that its leaders, although repudiated by many bishops in their own country, did not therefore think themselves compromised and resourceless; that the documents written in the name of the bishop of Rome (*auctoritates*) at first claimed a certain tolerance for them; that later, when the nature of the new prophecy became better known, a very plain condemnation was passed upon it by the same authority which had until then kept a more reserved attitude.

Moreover, if the condemnation was long expected, we should remark that, from the origin of the movement, from the episcopate of Eleutherius, the Roman Church had been informed of the case. In the beginning, Montanism was only a local affair, of interest simply to the churches of Phrygia and Asia. If the martyrs of Lyons in 177 are disquieted about it, it is because several of their important members are Asiatics or Phrygians. Even at the time that Tertullian wrote against Praxeas, the question, for the Pope at least, still had merely an Asiatic character. The matter was transacted in Asia and Phrygia, by letters sent far from Rome.[2] In thus proceeding, the Popes intervened in a contest which did not directly concern their own church. It is a repetition of the affair at Corinth in 97.

[1] Tertullian, Adversus Praxeam, I.
[2] Tertullian, loc. cit.

12. This is not the only case of interference on the part of Rome. How instructive is the Paschal question at the time of Pope Victor (about 189–198)! Two practices are in conflict: that of Rome, followed almost everywhere, fixes the Christian festival of Easter on the Sunday after the Jewish Passover; that of the province of Asia accepts the Jewish Passover as the day of the Christian feast. The Asiatics claim the greatest authorities, the Apostles John and Philip, their disciples Papias and Polycarp, prophets and famous martyrs. Their churches are celebrated throughout all Christendom, their tradition is universally respected. Nevertheless, Rome does not yield. It also has its tradition, plainly manifested by its conflicts with the Asiatic usage since the time of Trajan and Hadrian. To settle this matter, the venerable Polycarp journeys to Rome, but in vain. He does not convince Pope Anicetus. Under Soter, the successor of Anicetus, relations become even less friendly. Victor determines to end the controversy, and, first of all, submits it to the consideration of the other churches. At his request, the bishops gather in all the countries of the Empire, and even beyond it. They collect information upon the question and send to Rome the result of their deliberations. All these councils, except that of Asia, favor the Roman usage. This fact itself is significant; we see how difficult it was even for churches like St. John's, to offer opposition to the Roman tradition. At the end of the second century the Paschal usage of Rome was accepted almost everywhere.

But the most important fact in the first phase of the question is the convocation of councils. Polycrates of Ephesus, who writes in the name of this council,[1] and who maintains his own opinion with the greatest vigor, expressly acknowledges that, if he has called together his colleagues, it is at a request from Rome. Do we notice anything like this in the case of any other church? Where is the bishop of Antioch, of Ephesus, of Alexandria, who has even the idea of assembling in this way the entire episcopacy from Gaul to Pontus, to Osrhoene and to Palestine?

The mere fact of Pope Victor's taking the initiative, an

[1] Eusebius, H. E. V. 24.

initiative which was effective, would suffice to show how evident was the exceptional position, the oecumenical authority, of the Roman Church, in these ancient times.

But let us continue the story. The Asiatics resist; they declare that they will not abandon their tradition. Victor then proceeds against them by way of excommunication; he put them outside the communion, τῆς κοινῆς ἑνώσεως, according to the expression of Eusebius. Victor, then, is conscious that he, the head of the Roman Church, disposes of the universal communion, that it is in his power not only to break off relations with a group of churches, but to put this group under the ban of the whole Church. What language should we use if we cannot designate by the name of head of the Church the depositary of authority like this? St. Irenæus and some other bishops, it is true, thought Pope Victor's severity excessive and so expressed themselves to him. This has given rise to an argument against the authority of the Roman See, as if, even in our days, the Pope has not always been ready to listen to the observations of his brethren in the episcopacy. It is possible, indeed, that Victor over-stepped the just limit. I say this with reserve, for our information upon this matter is, at best, very incomplete; we lack, in particular, the documents that emanated from the Pope. Whatever be the case, in whatever way Victor received the criticisms of certain bishops, one point, at least, is indisputable, viz.: that the Asiatics abandoned their usage, and this not in consequence of the Council of Nice, as is often still repeated, but very long before. The Paschal quarrel, which was settled at Nice, concerned the churches of Antioch and Alexandria. From the beginning of the fourth century, the supporters of the old usage of Asia are represented in their own country by a small schismatic sect, and not by the legitimate bishops. The latter are in perfect agreement with Rome and Alexandria upon the date of Easter.[1] In whatever degree the vigorous measures of Pope Victor had been maintained or applied, they were followed by the submission of the Asiatics.

13. A contest, similar to the Paschal controversy but

[1] I have treated this question at length in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, July, 1880.

slightly different in its issue, occurred in 256 between Pope Stephen and the Church of Africa. The head of the African Church, St. Cyprian, cannot be accused of hostility to the Roman Church. He was in constant relation with the latter; in his letters and other works, he always testifies to the greatest respect for the chair of Peter, for the "sovereign Church (*principalis*), from which proceeds the unity of the episcopacy."

As regards Pope Stephen personally, it is clear from different indications that Cyprian did not esteem him so highly as his predecessors. They had disagreed upon other matters, they were in entire opposition upon the question of Baptism administered by heretics, a baptism recognized at Rome as valid, and at Carthage considered invalid. These differences in usage could be justified by theological argument; for the moment, the question was viewed as one of discipline and not of faith.[1]

Supported by the entire body of the African bishops, who met in council under his presidency, and by a letter of Firmilian, Bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, one of the most illustrious prelates of the East, Cyprian resolved to continue his practice. Nevertheless, Stephen threatened to break the bonds of communion. Did he put his threat into execution? We do not know. At all events, the Africans did not see in this disagreement a reason to break with the Roman Church. They refrained from "denouncing the peace of the Church." Moreover, neither they nor Firmilian questioned the authority

[1] It was almost always the same when there was question of deciding what heretics were to be *rebaptized*, and what others simply to be *reconfirmed*. The Greek and Russian Churches, for example, have greatly varied in their way of treating Latin converts to "orthodoxy." After the Latins had been driven from Constantinople in 1260, and after the rupture of the Union of Florence in 1484, the Greeks limited themselves to reconfirming. In 1629, the Russian Church which had till then followed this practice, imposed the repetition of baptism. But in 1655 and 1667, the patriarchs of Constantinople, Nicon and Joasaph, together with the other Greek patriarchs of the East restored the ancient practice. In 1718, even the baptism administered by the Lutherans and Calvinists was accepted in Russia, as well as in the Greek patriarchates. A change took place in 1756; the four patriarchs declared Western baptism invalid upon the pretext that it was not performed by immersion. Finally, since about 1860, the Synod of Athens, and, after it, the patriarchate of Constantinople, again decided to have only confirmation repeated. It is plain that in thus modifying their baptismal practice, the Orientals have not intended to vary in their faith.

I have taken this information from W. Birbeck, "Russia and the English Church," Vol. I, p. 63.

of the Apostolic See; they confined themselves to thinking and to saying that Rome was following a specifically wrong practice.

Stephen's successors, beginning with the famous martyr Xystus II, did not enforce the rigorous measures formerly announced or promulgated. If the rupture really occurred it did not last longer than a few months. Stephen died on the second of August, 257; his successor, Xystus, lived on good terms with Cyprian, who is called by his biographer "a good and peace-loving bishop." Shortly afterwards, towards 260, Roman envoys brought alms and words of consolation to the Christian community at Cæsarea, impoverished by a barbarian invasion. The letters of St. Dionysius of Alexandria[1] unite with these facts to prove that the disagreement did not continue after Pope Stephen's time. Nevertheless, neither the Africans nor the Orientals sacrificed their usage; it is only from the fourth century that it was little by little conformed to that of Rome, and that the divergence was relegated to the dissident sects of the Donatists and the Arians.

14. These quarrels refer to a rite; others concern doctrines and the doctrinal domain, in particular, what is now termed Christology.

We have already remarked that the Roman Church from the time of Popes Victor, Zephyrinus, Callistus (189–222), intervened to condemn the heresy of Theodotus of Byzantium, which was causing scandal at Rome. In addition to this school, another, that of the Modalists or Patripassians, for some time escaped the censures of ecclesiastical authority. It was quite easy by some artifice of language to give to the heresy an appearance of orthodoxy. In the fourth century it was still gaining converts; it was quite late in his life and with great difficulty that the illustrious Athanasius decided to recognize that Marcellus of Ancyra was a dangerous ally. At Rome, Pope Callistus, after different attempts to recall Sabellius, the head of the school, to the right path, determined to excommunicate him. The author of the "Philosophumena," who does his best to compromise Callistus in favor of Sabellius, is obliged, however, to acknowledge that it is Callistus

[1] Eusebius, H. E. VII, 5.

who pronounced the condemnation. This was, he says, to avoid being defamed before the other churches. We have here, perhaps, only the tattle of controversy, the interpretation of intentions, of which history has no power to judge. This trick of the controversialist is a new indication of the great celebrity of the Roman Church, of the extreme attention with which its proceedings were watched.

15. The Roman Church was not concerned merely with matters at home. Origen, as we know, had grave difficulties with Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, but their quarrels were on points of discipline. Although the bold and strange doctrines of Origen aroused great opposition after his death, and although some persons drew attention to them during his life time, there is no evidence that any ecclesiastical authority in the East demanded an explanation from him on the score of doctrine. But towards the end of his career, he finds himself obliged to justify himself before Pope Fabian and to withdraw certain statements.[1]

16. Origen was only a very well known and influential theologian. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, his pupil and former co-laborer, was more than this; he was the head of a church, and a very important church. Is it necessary to recall here how, inspired with too many of the master's doctrines, carried away by the warmth of his controversy against the Sabellians, Dionysius came to express upon the Divine Word ideas of such marked "subordinationism," that the Arians could boast that they had had him for their ancestor? As the charge of heresy against his doctrines and writings had been forwarded to Rome by the faithful of his church, Pope Dionysius wrote a weighty and eloquent letter, a long fragment of which has been preserved for us by St. Athanasius. It is one of the most precious documents of Christian theology before the Council of Nice. In words of great moderation, the bishop of Alexandria is reminded of the orthodox tradition upon the divine Trinity; he is even commanded not to fail to employ the term "consubstantial," already introduced into use, at least in Rome, although it was not to become classical

[1] Eusebius, H. E. VI, 36. St. Jerome, Ep. 84. Rufinus, In Hieronymum I, 44.

until the following century. Besides this lengthy admonition, in which, as I believe, his name was not mentioned, Dionysius of Alexandria received from Rome an invitation to reply to the accusation of heresy. He gave his explanation, corrected his language, modified his doctrine in accordance with tradition, and in this way merited the reward of being defended by St. Athanasius against the claims of the Arians.[1]

This authoritative intervention on the part of the Roman Church in the doctrinal affairs of the Alexandrian community in no wise changed the excellent relations existing between the two great cities. Before and after this incident, in the period of the persecution of Decius and Valerian, in the midst of the long siege of Bruchion, during the crisis caused by the schism of Novatian and by the baptismal controversy, we do not cease to find Dionysius communicating by letters with the different popes who then occupied the See of St. Peter, and even with members of Rome's clergy.[2] The Alexandrian Church is as intimately connected as the Carthaginian with the Roman ecclesiastical world. Dionysius is truly a second Cyprian; yet he shows himself more conciliatory than the African, more ready to hearken to the exhortations addressed to him.

17. Let us now hasten to a subject more consoling than all these contests about doctrines, prophecies, ritual, discipline. The superior authority of the tradition of the Roman Church was not the only reason why it was known and respected. To the majority of the faithful, Rome's preëminence was most apparent in its charity.

Rome might resound with the din of ecclesiastical conflict raging in every land, but above all this din was heard the echo of the suffering endured by the other Christian communities. The Roman Church felt itself afflicted by the most distant sorrows, whether caused by ordinary adversities, or by the plague of war, or by persecution. Envoys went forth in Rome's name to console the afflicted and to bring them generous alms. This was on Rome's part an enduring tradition. In the time

[1] St. Athanasius, De Decretis Nicænæ synodi, c. 26; De Sententia Dionysii.

[2] Out of the forty-seven letters or treatises which we know were written by him, about eighteen bear some Roman address.

of the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, in his letter to Pope Soter, testifies to it: "Since the beginning it is a usage established among you to heap benefits upon all the brethren, to send aid to the numerous churches in all countries. Thus do you solace the wretchedness of those who are in need; thus do you spread your alms amongst our brethren condemned to the mines, thus observing the tradition which you Romans have received from the Romans your ancestors."[1]

After the persecutions of Decius and of Gallus, Dionysius of Alexandria[2] reminds Pope Stephen of the letter which the Roman Church had just written, and the help which it had sent on every occasion to the Church of "all the Syrias[3] and of Arabia."

Two years after, the Goths and the Borans invade Pontus, penetrate to Cappadocia, and sack the great city of Cæsarea. Firmilian is still its bishop. Rome does not ask in what tone, a few years before, he referred to Pope Stephen. The ecclesiastical treasury at Rome, exhausted by the generous sacrifice of the arch-deacon Laurence, has had scant time to be refilled. It matters not: Cæsarea suffers, money will be found for Cæsarea: "We know," writes St. Basil to Pope Damasus, "we know from the remembrance which our fathers have kept of the fact, and also from the letters which are still preserved here, that Dionysius, that blessed bishop, illustrious for the rectitude of his faith as well as his other virtues, came formerly to the aid of our Church of Cæsarea; that he consoled it by his letters and sent it envoys charged with redeeming our brethren from captivity."

This tradition of charity will last as long as the persecutions. Eusebius attests that there were abundant manifestations of it in the last one, that of Diocletian and Maximinus (304–312). Only a few facts have been preserved: but from the way in which they have been reported to us, it is clear that they represent a number of others. This is oecumenical char-

[1] Eusebius, H. E. IV, 9.
[2] Ibid., VII, 5.
[3] Coelesyria, Phœnician Syria, Palestinian Syria.
[4] Ep. 70.

ity, this is the verification of the words of Ignatius: "The Roman Church, that which presides over charity."

III.

Thus, the churches of the entire world, from Arabia, Osrhoene, Cappadocia, to the extremities of the West, experienced in everything, in faith, in discipline, in government, in ritual, in works of charity, the incessant activity of the Roman Church. It was everywhere known, as St. Irenæus says, everywhere present, everywhere respected, everywhere followed in its advice. Against it there rises no opposition, no rivalry. No community entertains the notion of putting itself on the same footing as Rome. Later, patriarchates and other local primacies will come into being. In the course of the third century, one barely sees their first outlines, more or less vague, in process of formation. Above these organisms just forming, as well as above the collection of the isolated churches, there looms up the Roman Church in its sovereign majesty, the Roman Church represented by its bishops, the long series of whom is connected with the two coryphaei of the apostolic chorus; the Church which knows itself and declares itself and is considered by the whole world[1] to be the organ and center of unity. Its position is so plain that it strikes the eyes of the pagans themselves, whenever they fix their attention upon the organization of the Christians. The Emperors are more likely to come into relation with the Christians than the rest of the pagans; indeed, communication with the Christians is even a necessity of government for the rulers. In 272 the Emperor Aurelius finds himself suddenly called to settle a great quarrel that divides the Christians of Antioch. The bishop of this city, Paul of Samosata, because of his doctrine and his conduct, is to be deprived of his office. Sentence has been passed upon him in a great council held by the neighboring bishop, and has been communicated to the heads of

[1] Even distant Edessa felt Rome's influence and tried to become united with it. Pope Victor had the Council of Osrhoene summoned towards 195. According to Edessenian tradition Palout, the first bishop after the two founders Addai and Aggai, was ordained by Serapion, bishop of Antioch, who in turn had been consecrated by Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, successor of St. Peter. ("Doctrina Addai," at end; cf. Cureton, "Ancient Syriac Documents," pp. 44 and 63.)

the Roman and Alexandrian churches. But Paul laughs at his condemnation; he continues to occupy the episcopal house, from which the new bishop attempts to drive him. The suit is submitted to the Emperor. This is a very novel case to come before a pagan prince. For which of the two bishops, each of whom claim to be right, will he decide? "He decided the question," Eusebius tells us, "in the most sensible way, by ordering them to restore the episcopal house to those who, on matters of doctrine, received letters from the bishops of Italy and from the city of Rome."[1] A century later Theodosius did not act otherwise when he declared that he considered as legitimate bishops only those who were in communion with Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria.

Here, in the third quarter of the third century, I conclude this study of the facts. After this date, Christian history for some time becomes obscure. Except the facts of the great persecution, it tells us very few things until the Donatist sedition in the West and the Eastern quarrels with regard to Arius. The facts and testimonies which I have gathered and classified come for the most part from a single book, the "Ecclesiastical History" of Eusebius, which, in spite of the good will of its author, is very far from satisfying the demands of our curiosity. Other facts have been borrowed from contemporary writings, like those of St. Clement, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian. All these works, with the single exception of St. Cyprian's, were very little known at Rome in the fourth century. Eusebius was read there only at a later date in the wretched version of Rufinus; Clement and Irenæus, even in their Latin version, very soon became literary rarities: the same can be said of Tertullian. Cyprian, as we have seen, expresses himself in terms of great respect for Rome, but he at the same time furnishes the example of a decidedly clear manifestation of autonomy. It is not then, from Christian literature that the Romans at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the following century, derived the authority of

[1] Eusebius, H. E., VII, 31. The Emperor looked upon it as evident that no disagreement was to be expected between the bishops of Italy and the bishops of Rome; otherwise, he would have been more precise in his decision.

their Church. Damasus and his successors, Zosimus, Boniface, Celestinus, whose language shows so imposing a confidence in the prerogatives of their See, had not the information that permits us to invoke here Christian antiquity. Besides a very vague and almost effaced literary tradition, they had scarcely any other arguments than the tomb of St. Peter, their own episcopal succession, and the Gospel. More fortunate than they, we can prove by historical documents that in reality they were right; that the grandiloquence of certain letters of theirs is not an empty pretence, but the expression, sometimes a little exaggerated, of the most ancient ecclesiastical tradition.

STATE INSURANCE IN GERMANY.[1]

There were two statesmen, who, Colossus-like, towered above all other men for nearly fifty years of the last century. I refer to Gladstone and Bismarck. Bismarck as a constructive statesman is thought by some to have been a far greater man than his great English contemporary. He is regarded by some as the world's greatest synthetic statesman. In human history he has seldom if ever been surpassed. As an empire builder neither Cæsar nor Napoleon was his superior. In the thousand years of German history, since Charlemagne, no such figure appears. His genius was essentially German. He reminds one always of a big Berserker, of a huge Viking. He stood for the divine right of kings, for the primacy of Prussia in the empire and for the hegemony of Germany. He lived the embodiment of his people and died their idol. The world has always wondered why he was worshipped. A large part of the admiration bestowed upon him was due to his great power of grasping his people's needs and to his wisdom in answering them. A proof of this is found in the marvellous system of legislation by which insurance premiums were paid to the sick, the injured and the old. It is of this system that I am to speak to you to-night. It is a system to which such a man as Gladstone, with all his wisdom, love of democracy and fondness for the plain people could never have linked his name. It would have seemed to him incompatible with the genius of the English people.

The problems presented by the system as it sprang, Minerva like, from the brain of this German Jove, is interesting from so many sides that one can hope to do little more, in an hour, than to make suggestions. No statesman will ever sit again in council or cabinet of this or any other country who will not be asked, some time or other, to take a stand for or against the extension of this insuring of workmen.

The fate of political parties may be bound up in it. It is

[1] A paper read before the Sociological Academy of the University, May 10, 1904.

an economic problem as full of interest and importance as any that ever interested Adam Smith. It is a sociological problem vast as any that ever confronted Malthus or John Stuart Mill. It is a philosophical and psychological problem as interesting as any found in the pages of Aristotle or Plato, Kant or Comte. It is a fiscal and financial problem vast as that concerned with the issues of banks or the world's balances of trade. It is a question that is being brought home to employees and employers, priests and parsons, school teachers and professors, statesmen and reformers. It is so many-sided that one hesitates in discussing it. There is food for thought in it for the biologist, sociologist, psychologist, philosopher, historian, statesman and politician. It is for what the question suggests to those willing to think rather than for all I am able to offer that I have selected it. All that is worth while in any hour of this kind, any way, is what one is able to suggest rather than what one is able to say.

Of all the world's puzzles, and it has many among its political problems, there is none so baffling and yet none more interesting and inspiring than that presented by the laws dealing with the insurance of the aged, sick and injured laborers. During a sojourn of eleven or twelve years in the German empire I do not remember of having seen a single person who was able to give me a definite idea of what the system was likely to end in. Its origin was debated, its working out and its future purposes seemed to puzzle even those who were authorized to carry the system into effect. In an indefinite way it may be said that the system aims at meeting demands arising from discord and discontent; in other words, it is the empire's efforts to answer one of life's profoundest and most pressing problems—that of helping labor. Just how happily it has been answered is a question that is bothering the best of men. Unfortunately even the best of men are not without the bias that comes from the influence of their lives, their business relations and their social connections.

Discontent.

Discontent, developing in many cases into discord, is almost universal. The form which it takes is very closely

associated with environment. Eliminating racial elements considered by some as essential, one may say that Russia's nihilism is nothing better, nothing worse than one form of discontent; so is socialism in Germany, communism in France, Spain and Italy and the labor problems in England and the United States.

Importance.

To leave the workingmen's insurance out of any honest discussion of the empire's labor problems would lead to no end of confusion. To the looker on in Vienna the German Empire is as happy, seemingly, as it is possible for it to be. There are no such evidences of poverty as persistently push themselves under one's eyes in the streets of large English and American cities. Germany has no starvation as we understand the word starvation. There is abundant poverty, for wages are wretchedly small. The poor are in all the cities and in the country places, but they are not in evidence. They are cared for. They are here also. But this part of the question presents another problem, one for an economic hour rather than an hour like this. Nor is it a negative picture that is presented by the empire in regard to pauperism; there are everywhere positive evidences of prosperity. No nation, in my opinion, has achieved so much with so little in forty years, as has the German Empire. Its industrial, commercial, agricultural and educational developments read like romance. There is no more brilliant, more attractive or more instructive page in human history, than the one recording the empire's industrial and commercial development from 1871 to 1904. 1904.

Causes of What we See.

The present prosperity and progress of the empire is in no small measure the result of imperial legislation such as is calculated to revolutionize social conditions. A wholesome way of looking into economic and social conditions cannot fail in any country to yield such a harvest of thought and explanation as will render intelligible a success such as the empire has achieved. Since it fought Sadowa and Sedan its movements have been upward and onward. Statistics if properly collected and studied will confirm this claim.

Significance of the Tax.

An examination, even the most artificial, must accord to the empire's insurance systems a great deal of credit for the absence of offensive poverty. It is always unwise to unduly exaggerate the importance of any one particular factor, where many are in operation. A mere statement, however, of the fact that a great many toilers[1] are compelled to pay a tax to guard against the vicissitudes of old age, sickness or accident would be enough to indicate the importance of such a tax; but when one is told that for every farthing paid by the toiler, his employer and the state have to contribute, the importance of the movement increases.

According to a writer in the London *Times,* under ordinary insurance systems the insurers "buy freedom from anxiety. But state insurance stands on a different footing, and when someone else pays the premium the insurer clearly stands to gain. That is the case with the German workman; and insofar as he contributes himself the insurance is a form of compulsory thrift which has a good moral influence, even if he never has occasion to draw the insurance money."

Vicissitudes to which Laborers are Liable.

The vicissitudes to which laborers are liable are many. The most important are accidents, sickness and, if they live long enough, inevitable old age. To devise a system of insurance against all of these or against any one of them, long baffled the best thinkers in every economic and sociological school. For a long time labor had been clamoring for legislation which would give security against these disabilities. Against such legislation the solid phalanxes of wealth and capitalized industry were arrayed. Even merchants, sympathizing with the manufacturers, flung their influence into the scale against labor. For a long time the toiler was laughed at and was made to bear the scorn of those against whom his efforts were aimed. At last Bismarck and the old

[1] The number of those insured against accidents amounted to 17,366,000 in 1901 and to 17,582,000 in 1902. The number is rapidly increasing. The number of those insured against sickness was 10,319,564 in 1901 of whom 8,020,514 were males and 2,299,050 females.

Kaiser, believing that it would be best for all concerned to yield some such sop to Cerberus, flung insurance to the Socialists in 1883.

How the Workmen Met It.

The educated workman—and almost all German workmen are fairly well educated—took the stand that Bismarck's and the Kaiser's method was not the one they wanted. Many among them failed to see that the State's or employer's contribution was anything but an indirect tax upon the toiler. Where, they asked, does the state or capital get the wherewithal to make these contributions? The manufacturer was indignant. He was terribly disappointed. He had hoped to see the measure defeated. To him it was a handicap that weighed heavily and harassed him much in the great race for the world's markets. He has not given up hopes of the government helping him in some other way to bear the unusual and undesired burden. He gets some satisfaction out of the thought that England and other nations—even the United States—will one day be driven to do as the empire has done. The English look upon ordinary insurance as a kind of lottery. Even continental Europe is much better prepared to adopt such socialistic measures than is our own or the English mind; for all the countries of Europe carry on, or encourage lotteries. One writer says the ordinary insurance is economically indistinguishable from betting, but this new idea, say its advocates, this state insurance is after all only an assurance against danger, one in which the workman is the gainer, since the state and employer pay, if not all at least a large part of the money expended. Hitherto in the cases of invalidity the state has paid one third and in many cases the employer has paid the other two thirds, thus leaving the workman, as they thought, no chance to complain. While it is true that wages in the empire and all over Europe have advanced steadily during the last thirty or forty years, it is very doubtful whether the money that has gone into insurance would have found its way into the pockets of the workingmen had the insurance system never been known. The moral and indirect influence of the system is supposed to be very great. It not only encourages the wage earner to save but it develops

in him thrift as a habit. It is contended also that labor, so cared for, is less liable to discontent. It is also claimed, though for my part I fail to find anything to support the claim, that greater efficiency results from it among the working classes. I question whether this is true. Efficiency depends upon a great many factors, some of them far removed from questions of insurance and wages. In my own opinion the empire's marvellous progress in efficiency is due very largely to its splendid system of industrial, industrial art and technical education.

Branches.

The insured are divided into three classes: (*a*) The sick, (*b*) the injured, (*c*) the invalid or incapable and aged.

The first covers cases of temporary incapacity caused by sickness, the second cases caused by accident and the third persons who by long years of faithful labor have earned the right to retire. Under the accident insurance branch, provision is made for permanent aid if the disability is of a permanent character. In case of death by accident the widows and orphans are aided. An unfortunate feature of the accident insurance law is the limitation to accidents that occur only in the course of carrying out work connected with one's occupation. And yet it is hard to see just how such a system could be called on to cover all kinds of accidents. Cases are easily conceivable in which the parties would be responsible themselves, cases in which the accidents would be the inevitable result of criminal negligence.

Insurance of the Sick.

The beginnings of sick insurance go back to 1883. Previous to that time sick insurance was confined to what one might call provincial efforts. Each kingdom, petty duchy and principality had its own method of insuring. They possessed power enough to pass pension laws compelling the parties interested to pay; but the tendency was at first and for a long time towards voluntary efforts. Besides it was local in every sense, not Imperial. A law passed in 1883 obliged all persons working below a certain wage in factories and commercial establishments to pay into an insurance fund. The

law went so far as to give local authorities the power to compel others, parties not strictly covered by the foregoing, people temporarily engaged, apprentices, persons in domestic service and farm hands, to be insured, that is to pay or be paid for. That law has found favor; it has been amended to meet wider and greater needs. This insurance has been secured by means of public and private efforts. Nothing in the law can keep people from exercising the privilege of privately paying pensions if they desire to do so. The law aims to secure certainty in the cases calling for its exercise. Every effort, compatible with so highly organized and centralizing an influence as are all continental governments, has been made to keep the distribution in the hands of local agents or agencies. Hence one finds the distributing centers confined, when possible, to localities in which the different classes find occupation; thus there are mining funds in mining districts, and manufacturing funds in manufacturing districts. One evil inevitably associated with such a general system is the increased cost of carrying out the scheme. It calls for too many sets of officials. Discontent is growing louder and louder, because of the losses entailed by the expensive buildings and many sets of high salaried officials. Fully a third of the entire income is paid out in salaries and other expenses, leaving only two thirds for pensions. The new system has not eradicated the old one. All over the empire the system which had grown up in connection with the guilds, may still be found more or less in force. To cover the cases not covered by the general law particular classes in industrial life, there are general insurance funds called Ortsversicherungsanstalten. These are established for groups of villages or farming centers, and if any individual fund is found insufficient, localities have to make good the deficiencies. These latter are called Gemeindeversicherungsanstalten or communal insurance agencies. Each commune has to contribute from its own public purse. There are nearly 25,000 sick insurance funds in the empire, covering more than 10,000,000 people. As in all such social or fiscal measures a percentage, varying from 2 to 3 or 4 per cent. of wages, is paid by the parties contributing. In the case of communal insurance referred to

above the percentage is from 1½ to 2 per cent. of the average daily wage of the community. The law requires the payments to be made as follows: One third by the employer and two thirds by the laborer. In practice, in many cases, the manufacturer or employer paid two thirds and the workingman one third, thus exempting the workmen from a very heavy contribution. In some cases however the workman was compelled to pay two thirds and the employer only one third. Just what the final adjustment of payments is to be no one can tell. The present arrangement has resulted as follows:[1]

RECEIPTS.

Sickness Insurance.

	Total Marks.	Paid by Employers.	Paid by Employees.	Interests, &c.
1885	65,408,444	17,387,416	45,119,019	2,902,009
1891	111,737,097	31,272,689	75,562,257	4,902,151
1901	200,350,577	58,624,886	130,783,968	10,941,723
1885–1901	2,154,243,074	617,389,749	1,436,822,559	100,030,766

Accident Insurance.

1885	1,004,264	986,391	.	17,873
1891	51,512,117	46,621,236	.	4,890,881
1901	126,718,023	111,992,379	.	14,725,644
1902	141,394,136	125,663,313	.	15,730,823
1885–1901	1,029,254,315	908,922,329	.	120,331,986
1885–1902	1,170.648,451	1,034,585,642	.	136,062,809

Invalidity Insurance.

				Paid by State.	
1891	100,817,912	46,986,065	46,986,065	6,049,848	795,934
1901	199,525,126	67,406,753	67,406,753	33,870,735	30,840,885
1902	210,677,115	69,492,890	69,492,890	37,849,694	33,841,641
1891–1901	1,607,387,379	610,013,825	610,013,825	214,495,406	172,864,323
1891–1902	1,818,064,494	679,506,715	679,506,715	252,345,100	206,705,964

The state subsidy to the Invalid Insurance has risen from 6,049,-848 Marks in 1891 to 33, 870,735 Marks in 1901, 37,849,694 Marks in 1902, and to net 42,000,000 Marks in 1903. It amounts to net 294,-000,000 Marks for the period 1885–1903.

By way of interests and other receipts 393,227,075 Marks have been contributed to the Workmen's Insurance for the period 1885–1901 (56,508,252 Marks for 1901 alone).

It may be gathered from the following figures to what extent the individual items have participated in the total receipts of the Workmen's Insurance; these having been taken for the two periods 1891,

[1] The Mark equals $0.238.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
LIBRARY

the year in which all three branches of the Workmen's Insurance flourished along side of each other, and 1901, the last year for which comparative statistics of the three branches have been taken.

Of each 100 Marks of the total receipts of the Workmen's Insurance, there were contributed by:

	Marks.	
	1891	1901
Employers	47.29	45.20
Employees	46.41	37.64
State Subsidy	2.29	6.43
Interests, etc.	4.01	10.73

Sick Benefits Payable.

The sick benefits were formerly payable for 13 weeks, since January 1, 1904, for 26 weeks. These include drugs, medical treatment and wages. The payment of wages commences the third day after the beginning of sickness. When parties go to hospitals they get half pay for their families besides free treatment. The pay may be increased to 75 per cent. of wages. Mothers are under the benefits of the law for six weeks after childbirth, in exceptional cases for 12 weeks. The payments are never less than half the party's previous pay. There is a burial sum equal to 20 times a day's wages; this may be increased to 40 times.

In 1896 7,944,820 persons were insured in the sick insurance lists. Of these former 2,763,757 were sick for 47,608,226 days. The revenue was put at $37,912,424.45. In 1900 the figures are: Persons insured, 9,520,763; number of sick days, 64,916,827; revenue, $51,005,669.70; contributions, $40,403,-138.08; payments, $42,948,697.17. Just what one is able to deduce from these figures will depend upon his attitude towards the whole scheme. For my part I am unable to subscribe for or against it. Like the tariff, the money question, socialism, single tax, income tax, etc., etc., it has two, possibly ten sides. When one thinks of the political parties in European lands, or even in our own country, it would seem as if many of these industrial, economic and sociological questions are many sided.

Accident Insurance.

The state's interference in favor of a fund to aid persons injured by accidents, like all such elemosynary measures, has

its opponents as well as its advocates. It had its origin about the same time as the sick insurance laws. It was due to the same dangerous discontent, and to Bismarck's desire to anticipate socialism in its efforts to ameliorate the lot of the German masses. The legislation covering this class of insurance was enacted in 1884–87 and in 1900. Up to the passage of the first law covering such cases, the Liability Act of 1871 covered all compensation for injuries. That law was enacted primarily, as it seems, to safeguard the interests of railway operatives. Unless employers, state or private, could prove inevitable and unavoidable causes (from what was called *hoehere Gewalt*) the party injured had to be paid. By a logical extension, the law was carried over until it covered cases that came up in mines, quarries, factories and workshops. In such cases the parties injured had always to prove negligence on the part of the employers or persons responsible for the employers. The amounts to be paid were fixed by the courts; but the courts had to decide according to law. In cases where there was no doubt, when the court was compelled to decide in the workman's favor, the latter left the court empty handed in nine cases out of ten because of the responsible party's inability to pay. It was this weakness of the law of 1871 that led to the legislation of later years.

With the new legislation a new era opened. The burden of proof was shifted from the shoulders of the workmen to those of the employers. This was done in every case except those in which claims were rejected on account of self-inflicted injury, or on account of increases calling for larger payments than were allowed by law. Four classes of employment are covered by accident insurance: (*a*) Work in factories, (*b*) on farms, (*c*) in the building trades, and (*d*) in the marine. While there is a general law applicable to all, each has its own provision for the fulfillment of its purposes. There are special provisions covering the cases of prisoners and government officials. By "help" in the mills or factories is meant all persons working in or on mills, mines, wharves, docks, factories, breweries, etc., whose annual wages do not exceed $750.00 a year. Agricultural labor covers rural occupations of all kinds. This, by the way, has been the *bête noir* of social

reformers for the last 40 or 50 years. The great land owners have looked askance at every effort to incorporate their interests into the bills for remedial legislation. While too much importance cannot be attached to the legislative efforts to effect remedies and reforms, individual efforts should not be forgotten nor neglected. Associations of employers and employed, older than any time, some of them, to which the memory of man runneth, have been dealing with these questions in districts now covered by the law. In many cases these combinations took on the form of corporations, with corporate rights, duties and privileges. To-day the law enforces on a large scale what formerly was carried out on a limited scale. Under the law insurance is affected in much the same way except that what was once voluntary and is still voluntary, as far as such private arrangements obtain, is now matter of legal regulations. To-day employers and employed are legally involved as members of the local association. These organizations have a legal existence and many powers not often possessed by public institutions. All differences of opinion or disputes affecting questions of all kinds that arise are carried into local arbitration courts. These, however, in fact all the local boards, are under the supervision of an imperial officer or council. This latter is composed of permanent and temporary officials. The president and certain other officials hold office for life, or, at least, during good behavior. They are nominated or proposed by the Bundesrath or Federal Council and confirmed by the Kaiser. The temporary members of the Imperial Council consist of eighteen persons. Six of these are appointed by the Federal Council, six by the employers and six by the workingmen. There are a thousand and one differences of opinion as to the general and particular purposes that ought to govern such institutions. The aim of the Imperial Council is to secure the interest of all the parties involved and in this it succeeds as well as such institutions generally succeed.

The funds are made up from the contributions paid by the members of the associations and are based per cent. wise on the salaries and wages paid out. No claim is allowed in which the party injured intentionally caused the injury to himself.

Furthermore the compensation may be diminished in cases where the party injured contributed to the injury by a criminal act or by wilful wrongdoing. In legitimate cases injuries are paid for and medicines and medical attendance, etc., are free. Allowances are made as long as the party is unable to work. They range from two-thirds of one's former wages, in case of entire incapacity, to smaller amounts based on actual injuries. In cases of absolute helplessness, allowances are made that amount to the full wages. If the party injured was incapacitated before the accident, *i. e.*, was permanently incapable of performing any labor, compensation is confined to medical treatment; but if such person is rendered totally helpless by the accident itself, half of "full allowance" may be paid him. When the injured party is compelled to remain idle, because of the injury, through no fault of his own, full allowance may be made by the association. Allowances in cases caused by accidents begin 13 weeks after the injury. Previous to that time the cases are covered by the sick insurance. Thus minor injuries come under the sick insurance and are the cause of considerable complaint and discussion. From the beginning of the fifth week after injury payments amounting to fully two thirds of previous wages are provided for from the sick funds. If the sick fund to which the party belongs pays less than two thirds, the injured party may compel the employer under whom he worked when injured to make up the difference. If the party injured belongs to the sick fund the employer has to take care of him during the first thirteen weeks. In the event of a refusal on the part of the employer to do this, the sick association to which he, the employer, belongs, may step in and do it, or make the employer do it.

Compensation in Case of Death.

When death is due to an accident the party's representatives, parents, children, wife, etc., are paid a sum, not less than $11.90, with which to cover the expenses of burying. Sometimes it is based upon wages earned, usually amounting to one fifteenth of the annual wages; (*b*) allowances are also made to the family varying from 20 per cent. to 60 per cent. of the

amounts earned annually. A widow gets 20 per cent. till her death or remarriage, and each child receives 20 per cent. till it is sixteen years of age. Other dependent relatives, particularly parents, may get 20 per cent. if in want, but in no case are the allowances to exceed 60 per cent. of the dead man's wages. Herein we seem to have an inconsistency. What is done when there are four, five or six children? Does each get 20 per cent. of the father's wages till it is 16? If so, does not the amount paid often exceed the 100 per cent. of the father's annual pay. No; the fact is, payment is made on the basis indicated until the total sum paid equals 60 per cent. of the annual wages. Examination will reveal a rather anomalous condition upon which payments are based. Both funds, sick and accident, bear burdens caused by accidents. As we have seen, for the first thirteen weeks after an accident, payments are made by or out of the sick fund. To this the workers contribute two thirds, the employers one third. This has long been an apple of discord between employed and employers. The latter supply all the money that goes into the accident funds, but they get the benefit of the sick fund in all cases of minor accident. No money is drawn from the accident fund even in the case of accident till the end of the thirteenth week after the accident happens. During all that time payments are made from the sick funds. The Social Democrats have long been disturbed by the seeming injustice of this arrangement. Many have gone so far as to suggest that the employers should be compelled to pay, as now, all the accident funds, but that pensions should begin to be drawn from those funds in cases of accidents from the first day after the accident rather than, as now, from the sick fund.

In other words, it is argued that labor pays all of the sick insurance, funds, etc. According to some writers, if the plan proposed by the Socialists had been carried out during any recent year the loss or additional burden to the working classes would have been away up in the millions. One estimate made by a writer in the London *Times* puts the loss that would have occurred in 1897, under such an arrangement, as high as $8,449,000. This is due to the differences arising from the present methods of making contributions. Besides, he says:

"The employers provide one third of the sick funds; so that altogether they defray 92 per cent. of the accident charges. Further, it is found that of the payments made out of the sick funds only 6⅔ per cent. go for accidents and 93⅓ per cent. for sickness. Consequently, the advantage accruing to the work people from the employer's one third contribution to the sick fund is much greater than the disadvantage to them (the workingmen) of having to pay a very small share of the accident money. Calculated out for the year 1897 the difference in their favor amounted to more than $8,000,000 (marks, 35,500,000); they actually contributed 112,250,000 marks, or $26,715,500, whereas under the Social Democratic scheme they would have paid 147,750,000 marks or $35,164,500.

An unavoidable evil of the separate system would be the elimination of labor from a participation in the discussion of the work. Each would naturally want to control its own fund. Anything that brings labor and capital closer together is calculated to remove the prejudices under which they have long lived apart. Mutual appreciation is sure to follow mutual understanding. The work they do together is sure to benefit both. They propose, discuss and pass on laws or regulations for the prevention of accidents in the factories; in all these discussions and decisions the voice and vote of the workman weighs as much as does the vote and voice of the employer. The best interests of the empire demand a continuance of the system under existing auspices. To turn aside for the purpose of taking up the method of distribution proposed would be to impair the solidity and success of the system. Contact of employers and employed leads, as a rule, to confidence in each other. The meetings of the men who work and the men who hire for the purpose of discussing problems connected with insurance has often led to discussions and settlements of other vital industrial problems. Many a strike has been averted by such discussions.

In 1900, 6,928,894 factory hands were insured against accident. Among these 51,697 were injured and 5,108 killed. In 1901 the figures were, insured 6,884,076; injured 55,525; killed 4,979. In 1900 the number permanently incapacitated was 592, those receiving compensation 310,105, amounting to $14,-

211,931; in 1901 the figures were, permanently incapacitated 595, persons receiving compensation 319,576, amounting to $16,377,864. In 1886, 9,723 were injured or 2.8 to every 1,000 of the number insured; 2.422 were killed or 0.70 to every 1,000 insured. In 1901 the figures were 55,525 injured or 8.07 of every 1,000 insured and killed 4,979 or 0.72 to every 1,000 insured. Those wholly incapacitated numbered in 1886 1,548, or 0.44 to each 1,000 insured; those partly permanently incapacitated numbered 3,780 or 1.09 in every 1,000 insured. The temporarily incapacitated numbered 1,973 or 0.57 in every 1,000 of those insured. In 1901 the permanently injured numbered 26,753, of which 595 were wholly incapacitated, or 0.09 to every 1,000 insured; the number of permanently injured but only partly incapacitated numbered 26,158 or 3.80 to each 1,000 insured. The number temporarily incapacitated in 1901 was 23,793 or 3.46 to every 1,000 insured. These figures are for the factories or industrial circles, they do not include the agricultural or state official circles. The total number insured in 1901 was 18,886,712; the number to whom allowances were paid was 476,260; the amount paid, annually, was $23,981,089. The figures for 1903 have no doubt passed the 20,000,000 mark, the number of persons in receipt of pensions 500,000 and the amount paid more than $25,000,000. The story told by these tables is too terrible and too apparent to need more than a passing word. Relatively and absolutely there has been an increase in the number of accidents. Luckily the increase is confined largely to the class of partly permanent or temporary injuries. While the increase is appalling, from 1.09 to 3.80 in a thousand in the case of partly permanent injuries and from 0.57 to 3.46 of temporary injuries, the decrease in wholly permanent injuries is remarkable from 0.44 in a 1,000 in 1886 to 0.09 in 1,000 in 1901. The conclusion forced on one after an investigation of the tables is the fact that insurance seems to increase the number of accidents. Is this due to greater carelessness consequent upon the security caused by the insurance? Here we have a question that ought to interest the psychologist as much as the sociologist or economist. As a matter of fact the accidents, while not confined to any one class of laborers, were far more frequent

among some than others. Carriers and carmen are down for 14.5 in a 1,000; the timber trade takes 12.9; the quarries 12.4, the mines 12.2; the building trades 11, etc.

In recent years laws have been passed prescribing regulations for the purpose of preventing accidents. Under these laws employers can be compelled, under penalty of increased assessments for noncompliance, to adopt the measures prescribed by those in authority or by those to whom the duty of devising preventives has been assigned. These laws are regarded as very liberal—They have helped materially to make the coöperation of the workmen's representatives very effective. How successful such legislation is likely to be is shown by the fact that 65 out of 66 industrial Trade Associations adopted the prescribed preventives.

Invalidity and Old Age Insurance.

This law is the empire's latest effort in the insurance line. It includes all classes, and it applies to all persons over 16 years of age who work for a salary under $500 a year. It includes every calling except such government and other public officials as are otherwise provided for. Persons receiving more than $500 a year, but not more than $729.97 have the right to voluntary insurance. This law is only part of the great general insurance scheme begun by Bismark and the old Emperor. The first law went into effect in 1889 but was revised in 1899. Its purpose is to secure pensions for persons infirm or incapacitated by old age. In the case of the former they must be incapacitated for 26 weeks at least before the pension will begin to be paid. In the case of old age the party must have passed his 70th birthday. Quite a number think this should be the 60th, others favor the 70th. Even the 60-year limit is far beyond the average age reached by so long lived a people as are the Germans. It is hardly strange that the Socialists suggested a period far lower than that put into the law. Fifty, fifty-five or sixty years would surely be preferable to seventy. It is provided further, in the law, that candidates for its favors must have been insured for a certain period. This is called the period of waiting. For an infirmity allowance one has to wait 200 weeks, even though

premiums have been paid for 100 weeks; and for 500 weeks if no premiums have been made. For an old age allowance the waiting period is put at 1200 weeks. The time of military service and periods of illness are counted in the candidate's favor. The allowances are divided into five classes and are based upon the annual salaries. They begin in cases of infirmity at $85.13, and go up to $289.52. In old age, pensions are, for the first or lowest class, $26.73, and for the fifth or highest $55.93. The infirmity allowance begins with $26.73 and goes up to $36.46. To these, however, allowances proportioned to time of insurance, may be added, varying from ¾ cent to 3 cents a week. The pensions are usually paid in advance by post.

It is well worth while to notice that persons hindered by illness from earning their living may be provided for from the infirmity funds. In such cases the infirmity insurance office may pay for the sick person's medical treatment, and if it is found that the party is in the list of a sick insurance, reimbursement may be demanded from the officials of the sick insurance fund by the infirmity office, and payment must be made on the basis of the sick persons claims in the office under which he is enrolled.

Statistics of Infirmity.

The number of claims allowed during the eleven years 1891–1901 was, for infirmities 734,251, old age 389,971, sickness 14,309.

An Interesting Tendency.

It is interesting to note that under certain circumstances allowances are made to parties upon the occasion of their marriage, also in case of accidents and deaths. During 6½ years from 1895 to 1901 allowances were made in 742,910 marriage cases, 589 accident and 164,236 deaths. The total payments for infirmity were $13,035,650 in 1900 and $15,821,405 in 1901; for old age $6,381,004 in 1900 and $5,999,348 in 1901; for sickness $158,502 in 1900 and $316,225 in 1901; to aid in marriage cases $1,201,782 in 1900 and $1,256,409 in 1901; in accidents, $2,677 were paid in 1900, and $4,599 in 1901; for death $405,550 in 1900 and $424,043 in 1901; for sanataria $1,357,340 in 1900 and

$1,735,053 in 1901. The totals $22,563,357 in 1900 and $25,615,-140 in 1901. It is to be noted that this all came out of the infirmity fund. This indicates the broad grasp that the system seems willing to take. If it expands, as it seems destined to do, until it covers every possible danger to which the working classes are liable, its benefits must be a long way beyond the power of voice or pen to describe.

How the Funds are Obtained.

Payments are made to the various funds by employers, employees and the state. Each of the interested parties is supposed to contribute one third. As a matter of fact, in many cases, the employers pay two thirds and the state one third. This, however, is purely gratuitous on the part of employers since the law requires each to contribute his share. One of the funds is supplied by the employer and employed paying from 3½ to 7 cents a week each, the state adding about $12 (50 mks.) a year to each allowance.

Mode of Making Payments.

Most of the payments are made by purchasing stamps and pasting them into a book or onto a card provided for the purpose. The stamps are usually provided by employers who have the right to reduce the employees' wages by half the amount of each stamp issued. The pasting is done at the time wages are paid and covers the periods for which wages are paid, that is, a week, month or quarter as called for by each case. It is this pasting that has led the wags of the empire to dub a magnificent building in Berlin, in which the head offices of the insurance officials are situated, the "Pasting Palace." It is one of Berlin's most strikingly beautiful buildings.

Administration.

The ugliest feature of the whole system is the cost of administration. The hate and rage of the Socialists has been inflamed by this, the weakest part of the system. The cost of administration is said to be fully one third of all the moneys contributed to the different funds. A vast army of office-

holders has been added to the already large number of imperial and royal officials.

The empire is divided into districts over each of which a president is appointed. He has the standing of a government official. Under him is a committee composed of an equal number of representatives from the ranks of the employers and the employed, each having a right to be represented by the same number, never less than five. Each office has a court of arbitration, a full list of clerks, assistants, servants, etc., and to know just what that may mean one has to live in Europe. The arbitration court is composed of a president, nominated by the government, and of assessors, who are appointed in equal numbers by employers and employed to represent their interests. The entire system is under the general control of an Imperial Insurance Board.

A bare outline of the system's work is as fascinating as any figures ever entered in the books of the world's economic and social problems. Year after year has seen the number of the insured increase, the payments augment and the system grow in favor among all parties in the empire except the Socialists. In 1902 4,800,000 persons were paid more than $50,000,000 on account of sickness, 384,566 persons injured by accidents more than $25,000,000, 1,100,000 infirm persons were paid about $20,000,000 and 6,735,000 persons received payments to the extent of $104,000,000, or $60,000,000 besides their regular earnings. In 1891 the total amount paid out was over about $10,000,000. Thus, a tenfold increase in eleven years is recorded. Of this vast sum the state contributed nearly $10,000,000, employers $50,000,000 and the help $45,000,000. In other words, nearly $175,000 per day were paid out to the people of the empire over and above their wages. Is there a deeper significance in the enormous figures than at first appears? Is the manufacturer right in trying to resist the extension of the insurance system? Is his claim that it is an industrial handicap without foundation in fact? Do the ends justify the means? Does he or the nation get anything for this vast investment? and if yes! how much? I have seen it claimed that they get increased efficiency and contentment. I am not sure about that. I doubt whether it

has ever helped to increase either the one or the other. Some say it has had just the opposite effect. Have they proof? Who is right? Who is wrong? I am not ready to put it forward as a factor favoring efficiency or contentment. I fear it aids neither. There was never so much discontent as there is to-day. The ranks of the Socialists, recruited as they are from the discontented masses, prove this. From a few hundred thousand, in the late eighties and early nineties, they have increased to more than $3,000,000 voters. There are hundreds of discontented there and everywhere who do not vote.

Socialistic discontent is by no means so dangerous as it used to be, still it is discontent. The increased efficiency, remarkable all over the empire, is due in a very large degree to Germany's wonderful industrial, industrial art and technical schools. But both these questions, Socialism and education, would require separate discussion. If by efficiency is meant a physical rather than an intellectual efficiency, the claim is not without merit.

Efforts to Prevent Sickness.

To prevent a threatened overwhelming increase in the number of persons insured against sickness, the insurance officers inaugurated a hospital system to cure consumption. It is based on the discoveries of Koch. Sanitaria were opened under governmental auspices all over the empire. The sick were sent to these, cared for and cured. The results are astonishing. Nothing in the long list of scientific successes that marked the 19th century deserves more credit than the work of Pasteur, Koch and their great colleagues. There are sanataria in all parts of the empire, particularly in those parts best suited to their purposes. Many of these are under private management, but as success came to confirm the out-door air cure, the insurance officers began to build, equip and fill sanitaria for themselves. Nearly a hundred sanitaria have been opened. These contain between 7,000 and 10,000 beds. They are given up largely, if not quite completely, to the sick of the laboring classes. At present more than 30,000 cases can be attended to annually, allowing three months to each patient. Just what this means to consumptives, only those

familiar with the ravages made by that terrible disease can imagine. The results reported read like romance. How true this is appears only when one remembers that cures, in cases of consumption, were considered hopeless previous to Koch's discoveries. Of those treated, fully 67.3 per cent. were fully restored to work, 7.1 were able to do other lighter and less confining work; 14.6 per cent. were able to do some work, enough to earn a living; and only 11 per cent. were found unable to earn a living after treatment. In other words 87.7 were either cured or improved, 8.7 not benefited, 3.1 grew worse and 0.5 died. Is it strange that results so striking are finding favor? Is it wonderful, that people think a system is efficient that takes the consumptive and puts him into the forests and fields for a few months and then returns him in many cases fully restored? It is hardly time to decide as to the final effects. Constant care is no doubt needed to keep those cured from the dangers of relapse or reinfection. All we know seems to favor the efforts to increase the number of sanataria for the open air cure of consumption. No murmur of discontent has come to us from those benefitted. It would be a strange physiological phenomenon if some of those cured of consumption did not relapse. Connected with this side of the question is another wide-reaching sociological problem, one that is suggested by the great danger that is sure to follow these efforts, viz., the danger of perpetuating a race of people susceptible to disease. But, bad as this is, for it is not nearly so bad as it seems, it is by no means so bad as the present system or rather lack of system, the one the new system is intended to replace, for that perpetuated not only the same susceptibility to consumption but the disease itself. In this one finds fields for the exploitation of the world's power, fields for the display of diplomacy and higher politics. In the cabinets of kings, methods of constitutional concession, etc., are discussed and are gone over until statesmen are weary and the people are tired. Here is a field for the economist, sociologist and statesman. It is the twentieth century plea for what the world should have granted in the first. What the world's voluntary answer is to be will depend largely upon the leaven put into humanity by the Christian religion. An-

other answer, if such is not forthcoming, may be forced from the nations. Let them beware. Before the council chambers, as was kept before the door of Roman houses let *caveat canem* be kept. A new duty of government is to deal with the problems of discontent. Labor, organized under the banners of Carl Marx and Lasalle, is worrying the governments of the world. They are doing it in such a way as to make all measures uncertain. The object of insurance legislation is, if possible, to stay the rising tides of Socialism. The laws were passed for this purpose. Nobody doubts this now. The doctrines of Marx had taken a deep hold on the minds of the masses. Even in exile, Marx was powerful, more powerful perhaps than he ever was or ever would have been if he had been allowed to remain in Germany. Had he been permitted to pursue his pathway among the walks of industrial and economic life, unmolested, it is a question whether his powers would ever have grown to the vast proportions to which they attained. Who knows? Anyway the world is moving forward to greater and greater changes. Labor is no longer willing to wait. Like the Cumaen sybil it is at the gates of all governments offering its volumes of wisdom. Once, twice they have been rejected. The laboring man must have picked a page or two from the fire. He has learned to rely upon himself or he is learning to do so. Henceforth he must have a fairer share than heretofore of what he earns. With time, he will make the marvellous fortunes of this and the last century impossible.

There is something suggestive in a great economic and sociologic movement of any kind, one that reaches over an empire influencing the world is not without interest to us although an ocean separates us. If one looks at the laws as separate entities, narrowing them down to what they do directly for those for whom they were framed one will fail to find the true meaning of such a movement. It is in its roots, in what it grew out of and what it is likely to grow into that one ought to be interested. If any word of mine is worth anything it will be by way of suggestion rather than by any concrete, well-marked-out evidence of the insurance as a whole. As day dawns the light spreads, the watchers on the

walls of the world have a duty to perform; it is to point out the lines along which the armies are marching and are apt to march. There is light in the east, light in the west, light everywhere. Let there be more light.

Astronomers tell us that nine tenths of the light that floods the heavens on a starry night comes from stars so far off that a strong glass would have to be used to see them, so in life the mightiest movements in human history owe nine tenths of their power to the seemingly insignificant millions who toil at the machines, on the wharves of the world. It is by these that the Bismarcks and the Gladstones are moved, it is for these that laws like those described are passed.[1]

Addenda.

It may be worth while to note the tendencies of the present time. The following paragraphs are intended to picture the present position and to indicate the lines along which work is progressing.

With the beginning of the year 1904 the gap between the sick insurance and invalid insurance for laborers was closed. The new law for sick insurance which was passed at the last session of the Reichstag went into effect and the system proclaimed by the imperial message of November 17, 1901, was terminated. To-day the German laborer is protected against sickness, accidents, invalidism or feebleness and old age. He is looked upon by other laborers, all over the world, as the best protected workingman upon earth. The belief is everywhere gaining ground that the law that looks after the laborer when sick, wounded, feeble or old is a law that the laborer should approve. The hope was cherished, by those most deeply interested, that the passage of these laws would lead the laborer to look upon peaceful methods of solving labor's problems as the best. Besides, if Germany was to continue to be able to compete in the world's markets, a period of rest or absence from labor agitation was absolutely necessary. Anything like a full realization of these hopes has yet to be

[1] I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness in the foregoing to some articles on Industrial Conditions in Germany, published in the London *Times*, in the fall of 1903, to W. G. Curtis and the Imperial Insurance office publications. —J. C. M.

recorded. The laborer is taking a long time to see that his interests and those of his employer are intimately connected if not identical.

The success of governmental insurance is leading everybody, even those who formerly opposed it, to look for its extension. Even the so-called capitalistic classes are beginning to see success where only a short time ago they predicted failure. Everybody is hoping for better days. All thoughtful men are urging care. All seem willing to work for success. This is a healthy attitude of mind. It has taken hold of all classes. Inasmuch as all are interested in the result all are interested in the methods to be employed. The proceedings of the last session of the Imperial Parliament would lead one to look for some new ideas in regard to sick insurance methods. The law covering that class of insurance was thoroughly revised in 1893, before it went into full effect. Since that time a great many changes have taken place. Some of these have led interested parties to look and to ask for a comprehensive reorganization of the law. The purpose is to put the law on a better basis to make it meet the ends aimed at in a practical manner. It is claimed that the results in cases of accident and feebleness are much better, that is far more practical. For several years preparatory work in this regard has been in progress on the part of competent government officials. It is doubtful whether these new rules will be ready in the near future for submission to the law-making body of the empire, and yet, it is more doubtful whether they would be ratified by the Reichstag, even if they could be passed by the Bundesrath. With the law that went into effect at the beginning of 1904, a great part of the interest that the working class should have in the revision of the sick-insurance law was absent. The laborer has been offered the advantages of such a revision. Therefore this revision, if it is to satisfy the most modest demands, must be so made as to put an end to the abuse of sick-benefit organizations for political purposes. It is doubtful of course whether the majority of the Reichstag will consent to revise. The prospects are not bright even though the revision be prepared by competent officials. One should not expect it, at least for a long time.

Lately a thought has been publicly discussed which is calculated to give Government insurance considerable extension. A great deal has been said about forcing labor to come under the compulsory invalid-insurance law, but this need not be discussed now, as we wish to treat here of the most important phases of the subject. Formerly the law provided invalid insurance for the humblest hand-laborer when requested by him. If now the compulsory insurance of hand-laborers is introduced, the obligatory insurance will be extended to the employer. The principle of this Governmental insurance is that the laborer is protected against the misfortunes of life. With the placing of hand laborers under compulsory insurance, an entirely new way will be opened, one which will lead to the putting of all classes of the people under it. The thought in itself is neither new nor irrelevant. Prince Bismarck, the originator of the idea of Governmental insurance for the laboring classes, cherished it. It is not to be explained why other classes should not receive the same benefits which the working class has enjoyed through the greatest possible solicitude on the part of the Government during the last decade. One must remember that with the abandonment of this principle new difficulties will arise. One is that it affords for the new insurance no division in the contribution to the fund between employer and employe; the other that the Government must raise its contribution to the fund for invalids and aged people considerably although last year it amounted to about $9,520,000. Whence this sum will come is not now clear, and until this is clear its accomplishment need not be expected. It is a question whether the Empire's finances will permit of such a burden.

There is greater prospect for the insurance of widows and orphans of workingmen. In the tariff law of December 25, 1902, it is decreed that the excess receipts of certain different tariff schedules, *e. g.*, grain and cattle, shall be devoted to the insuring of widows and orphans. For this purpose a law will have to be passed, and until this law shall come into force, the sums thus collected shall be put out on interest. It is further provided that if such a law is not passed by January 1, 1910, the interest of such accumulated funds as well as of funds in

course of accumulation shall be turned over to individual invalid insurance organizations for such widows and orphans as may be insured in them. Hence, unless the two tax-making factors of the Empire effect a change in this sentiment, one may feel sure that whether by state law or regulation of the insurance bodies, the widows and orphans of workers will enjoy pensions by January 1, 1910. It is only a question whether such a law will go into effect previous to that date. It is hardly to be expected that it will. In order to secure the annual income necessary the new tariff must go into effect, and it is doubtful when this will take place, certainly not before the completion of the several commercial treaties now under discussion. Even if they should be concluded during the next year, it must be remembered that Austria's new tariff is not ready and that some time must elapse before the treaties go into effect in order that the business world may become acquainted with their workings. It will be at least one or two years before one can judge how high the annual receipts from the tariff for this purpose will be. By the amount of these receipts it can be estimated how high the pensions may be put. It will be 1907 before the final plan for insuring widows and orphans can be prepared and 1910 before any law to ensure payment can be passed. But the payment is sure, since if it is not effected in one way, it will be accomplished in another, by law.

The scheme for insuring against loss of work has no prospect, since it is not yet ripe. Attempts in this direction on the part of small organizations have failed, and the reason therefore is clear since there is ground for fraud and it is difficult to distinguish between loafers and those really out of employment, and since this is true the German working classes need not expect in the near future any thing new in this respect.

We see therefore that there is a great mass of projects relating to the extension of the system of governmental insurance. It would really be an advantage if there should be a falling off in this respect, in order that capital be not always burdened anew. Germany is not alone in the world, but must struggle with rivals extraordinarily more favored by nature

so that they have less cost of production to bear. This being true there might come a time when Germany will not be able to compete in the markets of the world, in which case the laborer for whose welfare insurance is being urged, will be at the great disadvantage of not having opportunities for work. The legislating bodies must keep in mind the general welfare of all classes and not pass laws for the benefit of certain classes to the detriment of others or to the injury of all. They should remember that the general welfare is attained only through protecting all branches of trade and industry. Certain classes should not be protected at one time and other classes at other times.

JAMES C. MONAGHAN.

THE EXHIBIT OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES AT ST. LOUIS.

The School of the Social Sciences of the University has prepared and installed at the St. Louis Exposition, an exhibit of the Catholic Charities of the United States. It is found in the building devoted to Social Economy, occupying a space 30x35 feet. The work was undertaken with the unqualified approval of all of the Archbishops and 62 of the Bishops of the United States. The most prominent of the Catholics active in charity work, and superiors of many religious communities, as far as their opinions were learned, supported the project with much sympathy and active cooperation. The Catholic press, as far as the writer knows, encouraged the work generally; two exceptions only having come to the knowledge of the promoters of the exhibit. Such encouragement was sufficient warrant for the timeliness and wisdom of an effort to present the facts of Catholic Charitable Endeavor to the throngs that visited the St. Louis Exposition.

It is true that Catholic traditions are not favorable to boastful presentation of good works. The spirit that prompts works of mercy seeks to conceal the evidences of its very existence. Yet circumstances may compel one to sacrifice preferences. A few times, we were reminded that the left hand should not know what the right hand gives, but those who spoke thus, forgot, with striking timeliness, the injunction not to hide the light but to let it shine before all men. Aside from this, the world is inclined to judge religions by their mercy and charity. If we may present argument from logic, from history, from scripture, may we not present argument from charity and mercy. If one is to judge by fruits, may we not show to an intelligent, inquiring world, the fruits of the charity of Christ in the Church.

The prominence of charity work, the ever increasing need of it, the complexity of life which is multiplying the number of the helpless, the general impulse towards organization and correlation are characteristic of our time. Hence great exposi-

tions which aim to reflect life and progress give much prominence to charity work. It were surely a pity if the Church, whose unparalleled works of charity are her great claim to glory, should be unrepresented at a time and in a place where the charities of the nation were represented. The non-Catholic world is eager to know the character, methods, extent and the lessons of Catholic charity. An elaborate effort was made two years ago to install in permanent form at one of our great non-Catholic universities, a presentation of exhaustive data concerning the charity work of the Church. The effort failed entirely because our institutions did not give information when asked for it. The promoter of the plan published a partial explanation of his failure and expressed the opinion that such a work should be done at the Catholic University.

This view was in accord with sentiments expressed by one of the professors of the University, in an article published three years before in the BULLETIN. In it a plea was made for the establishment of a permanent bureau of statistics whose function would be the regular collection and publication of data concerning all phases of Catholic life and action. Thus the advisability of collecting information seemed beyond question; the St. Louis Exposition created an occasion. The plan received abundant encouragement and the work was undertaken.

The Exhibit as it stands is inadequate. It is not intended to be complete numerically nor to present all phases of charitable activity. The original intention was to present complete data concerning the principal aspects of all kinds of charity work; that of religious communities, societies, guilds, associations, clubs, mutual aid societies wherever the spirit and purpose of christian philanthropy dominated. In the hope of securing coöperation from these lay associations, no record of whose existence was at hand, about 6,000 copies of a circular were distributed through publication in the press. It asked merely for the address of any officer of such organizations. The replies were so meagre and the time so short that the hope of representing lay activity in the exhibit was abandoned.

The work was consequently restricted almost entirely to religious communities. It was undertaken late last autumn. Brief as the time was, many obstacles reduced it considerably. The approval of the hierarchy was sought before the actual work was begun. In many instances some time intervened before it was received. As no information was sought until approval had been given, further delay resulted. Approval was not received from twelve dioceses, hence detailed data were not sought from institutions situated in them. This of course made it impracticable to present reliable totals for the United States and thus the scientific value of the exhibit was seriously impaired.

Many institutions delayed their replies to inquiries; some sent inaccurate returns; others failed to classify data. This of course made necessary extensive correspondence and finally again forced the scope of the exhibit to narrower proportions. A few institutions failed to make any returns; many of the circulars and blanks sent out, went directly to the waste basket, though ample contrition for that was expressed, once the purpose and nature of the work were understood.

The duty of raising funds devolved upon the promoters of the exhibit. $1,600 was collected, contributed by a small number of Archbishops and Bishops and a few laymen. As the amount raised was far short of what would have been necessary for an adequate presentation of facts, the scope and nature of the exhibit were modified and simplified still more. Exorbitant charges for labor and material in St. Louis added greatly to the cost of the Booth and reduced the funds available for exhibit purposes.

It was necessary therefore to abandon the original intention of making a scientific and complete exhibit. Anything more than a suggestive and incomplete presentation was out of the question. In fact much of the data collected and prepared, could not be used as the time and expenses involved were beyond the resources of those who were preparing the exhibit. As the exhibit stands, nevertheless, it is a striking revelation to the many who never pause to reflect on the extent and variety of charitable activity in the Church, even though it be far from adequate or final.

Not all difficulties which were encountered have altered the conviction from which the exhibit sprang; viz., that it is advisable from every standpoint to collect and disseminate exhaustive data concerning the Charities of the Church. It is hoped that the University may yet be in a position to create a Bureau with this work as its object. It is due to the promoters of the exhibit to say that this hope sustained them when struggling with the painful obstacles and trying difficulties which they met. If the University might install the exhibit within its walls at the close of the exposition, as the nucleus of a permanent and exhaustive collection, the efforts already made, will be amply rewarded. A brief description of the contents of the exhibit follows:

1. A series of six outline maps of the United States 5x8 feet showing the increase in the number and kind of institutions since 1850. The maps show the location and character of them by decades in 1850–1860–1870–1880–1890–1903. Orphan asylums, insane asylums, hospitals, homes, reformatories, protectories, etc., are represented by symbols in place. The map of 1850 shows few Catholic institutions in the United States while that of 1903 shows 1,036, surely a remarkable development. In the map of 1903, two states show no charitable institutions of any kind; Wyoming and Nevada. New York has the largest number, 181. Pennsylvania is next with 67. Florida has but one. No state shows any single instance where an institution once opened was closed; hence there is no retrogression anywhere in the 53 years.

The maps show merely number and kind of institutions but they are far from accurate as regards development. Charitable institutions scarcely ever perish in the Church. They grow constantly. A simple plain building moderately equipped, say in 1870, may develop into a splendid modern institution by 1890 or 1900 at great expense, yet through the series of maps it appears merely as one institution. No financial data are given, hence this development is missed in the map presentation.

Where two classes of work are done in one house and by one community the maps show two institutions. This was necessary, as the essential thing looked for is the kind of

work done. It is only of secondary importance whether works are carried on in two institutions or in one. It was not practicable to arrange the maps according to dioceses as no account could be taken of the founding of new dioceses, nor could credit for the progress of our charitable institutions be ascribed with any degree of accuracy to an older or a younger diocese when the latter sprang from the former.

2. The work of religious communities is presented in a series of swinging frames 150 in number. A brief summary shows the date of foundation, location of Mother house, character of work done, number of sisters in the community, the number engaged in works of charity, and a list of the charitable institutions under its charge. This summary is followed by a series of photographs uniformly mounted, showing outside and inside views of property, buildings, and also views of work, the daily life, the inmates and similar phases of institutional activity as they may interest the inquiring observer. Financial data, numbers and classification of inmates, the amount of charity work done without any compensation public or private, and like features of the institutions could not be presented owing to incomplete returns and lack of uniformity in the records of the institutions. It is impracticable to publish any summaries concerning the religious congregations themselves at present, as the 200 communities devoted to Charity work have not uniform methods of classification. If the data at hand might be supplemented by some further inquiries, a most interesting presentation could be made.

The exhibit contains also a list of the 556 Conferences of St. Vincent De Paul, data and work from the New York Protectory, the Guild of the Infant Saviour in New York and the Queen's Daughters.

Possibly the chief service that the exhibit will render is that of manifold suggestion. It shows what might be done and it brought to surface the complex difficulties that are to be met before a successful presentation can be made. It suffers, viewed from an academic standpoint, in that it is incomplete, but its educational value and its service as proof of the activity of the spirit of charity, may not suffer. If we

look at what was done, we may legitimately hope that the work may be taken up with zeal in the near future. Once a complete and accurate directory of Catholic charities were compiled, and uniform methods of classification were adopted, the value of the work to present and to future, would become apparent.

The promoters of the work feel under great obligations to the following persons whose generous contributions made possible the Exhibit. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons; Most Rev. Archbishops Farley, Glennon, Ryan, Quigley, Keane, Elder, Christie, Ireland; Rt. Rev. Bishops Harkins, Calton, Faley, McFaul; Rt. Rev. Msgr. O'Connell, Mr. George Ehret, Hon. W. B. Cockran, Mr. D. M. Riordan, Mr. Wm. F. Downey, Mr. J. N. Kirby, Mr. T. J. Thompson; The St. Vincent de Paul Society of New York City, John Murphy Co. of Baltimore.

The Queen's Daughters of St. Louis, a charitable organization of Catholic women, generously assumed the care of the Exhibit during the entire time of the Fair. Members of the society were in attendance constantly to give information to visitors who might seek to know, in greater detail the methods of charity, universal in the Church. Their services added very greatly to the value of the Exhibit, and merited highest appreciation.

WM. J. KERBY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

cta Pauli, aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift No. 1, herausgegeben mit Unterstützung des grossherzoglich Badischen Ministeriums der Justiz, des Kultus und Unterrichts. Von Carl Schmidt, Tafelband. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 4°.

By the publication of the first fascicule of the famous "Acta Pauli" Dr. Carl Schmidt of Heidelberg has rendered a notable service to the cause of primitive Christian literature and theology. The volume before us, it is true, contains only the photographic fac-simile of the precious Coptic manuscript that was purchased in 1896, at Achmîm in Upper Egypt, by Dr. Carl Reinhart from a dealer in antiquities, and was later sold to the University of Heidelberg. The original bundle of papyrus sheets contained writings in Greek, Coptic, Latin and Arabic. What interests us are the two thousand papyrus fragments that are now disposed at Heidelberg under forty glass covers. They are only the smaller part of an extensive Coptic work, hitherto almost unsuspected, but now known to have been a translation of a very early Greek "Life and Works" of Saint Paul. The major part of this translation has perished—the remaining fragments of the extant copy appear to be written by one hand, with much care, not later than the sixth century, and in the local dialect of Achmîm. They are therefore, apart from their literary and theological character, of considerable value to the Coptic philologian.

It is owing to the long and patient labor, the palaeographical skill, and the keen critical sense of Dr. Schmidt, that these fragments have been put together, read and interpreted, in such a manner as to make it certain that we have now before us the earliest extra-canonical account of the Apostle of the Gentiles—in other words, the earliest Christian romance, the first purely literary venture that we can attribute to a disciple of Jesus. The work was an extensive and well-connected effort, marked by a clear and conscious unity, as is evident from the study of the narrative, diction, theology, and purpose of the writer. In it the figure of the great apostle stands out predominant, dwarfing all others, and stamping as highly personal all the numerous episodes of the lengthy story—it contained, according to the third or fourth century Codex Claromontanus, nearly three thousand six hundred lines of the ordinary scribe's writing, and was therefore about the size of the "Shepherd of Hermas."

Its literary history is unique. Eusebius[1] reckons it among such ancient works as the "Shepherd," the Letter of Barnabas, the Didaché, and the Apocalypse of Peter—works once copied among the New Testament writings and read in the churches before the people. Origen and Hippolytus knew it, and cited it with reverence in their writings. Its orthodox doctrine did not, however, save it from a gradual disparition. The "Acta Pauli" contained little of importance for the great theological debates of the fourth century, and therefore ceased to be copied; it resembled too much in external form the pseudo-canonical "Acts" of the Manichaeans and Priscillianists, and eventually shared the horror that was created by the forgeries attributed to Leucius Charinus. The miraculous elements in such writings still appealed to the faithful, while the speeches put in the mouths of the apostles were looked on as perilous interpolations of the heretics.[2] Nevertheless it continued to be copied—Photius had it before him about the middle of the ninth century,[3] and there are traces of the entire work in the libraries of Constantinople as late as the fourteenth century. Interest in it was aroused in our own time by the efforts of Lipsius, Zahn and Harnack, to recognize the gaps in the narrative, and to attribute to it certain nameless and dateless fragments of the same character.

The "Acta Pauli" owes its preservation and no little of its influence to the fact that at an early date three large fragments or episodes were separated from it by translators or pious writers—the Martyrdom of Paul, the (Third) Letter to the Corinthians, and the Acts of Paul and Thecla, all of which have been shown by Dr. Schmidt to be portions of the greater narrative in question. The "Martyrium Pauli" seems to have been adapted to public reading in the churches on the anniversary of the Apostle.[4] It is to this fact that we owe in the East the Coptic, Syriac, and Slavonic versions. A (Third) Letter to the Corinthians was long retained by the Armenian Church as authentic. Saint Ephraem wrote a commentary on the same, placing it between the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Galatians. Aphraates was also of opinion that the letter was canonical. Traces of its presence in Western bible-manuscripts have been found. There was probably a very old Latin translation of the entire "Acta Pauli," from which have come down the Latin "Martyrium Pauli," and the tenth century copy of a Latin version of the

[1] H. E. III, 3, 5; 25, 5.
[2] Duchesne, "Congrés Int. Scientifique des Catholiques." 1894.
[3] Bibl. cod., 114.
[4] Lipsius, "Act. App. Apocr.," I, 104 sq.

(Third) Letter to the Corinthians found by Berger in 1890 in the Ambrosiana. The survival of the entire Greek original explains why the Greek churches ran no risk of accepting it as canonical by reason of a separate tradition of its text.

Perhaps the chief interest and utility of the work of Dr. Schmidt lies in the demonstration that the so-called "Acts of Paul and Thecla" are really only an episode, though easily the most famous one, of the "Acta Pauli." They were probably translated and copied apart with the view of reading from them on the anniversary or feast-day of Thecla. Such a Latin translation existed in the fifth century in Southern Gaul—Harnack has shown[5] that then and there the author of certain pseudo-Cyprianic writings made use of such a version. They were likewise well known to Saint Augustine,[6] to Philastrius and to Saint Jerome.[7]

A passage of Tertullian permits us to locate, with some precision, the place and date of composition of this remarkable work. He tells us (de baptismo, c. 17) that in his time some Christians put forth the example of Thecla as an argument that women may baptize and preach, and appealed to certain writings that falsely bear the name of Paul as a proof of their contention. They must know, he says, that the priest who compiled that work in Asia (Minor) was deposed from his office; the ecclesiastical authorities refused to recognize his plea that he had written the work out of love for Paul. We must henceforth understand these words of Tertullian to refer to the "Acta Pauli" as a whole. And as his work on baptism was written about the year 200, and he probably knew the facts from local witnesses, we may accept the neighborhood of the year 180 as the time of their composition. The African Christians who read the work and appealed to it very probably read it in a Latin translation, that was therefore almost contemporaneous, probably the original source of all the Latin fragments that have reached us.

The "Acts of Paul" are one of the few pseudo-apostolic compositions that can be traced to an original Catholic source. Tertullian does not blame the content of the work, merely the presumption of the Asian priest that he could add to the authority of the apostle. It was the flourishing period of Gnosticism, and the author hoped, by imitating the tactics of his adversaries, to confound them with their own weapons. He would put before them a Paul whose life and speech should overwhelm all heretics with shame. At the same time

[5] "Texte und Untersuchungen," New Series, IV, 3b.
[6] "Contra Faustum," XXX, 4.
[7] "De vir. ill.," c. 7.

the Christian virtues of virginity and mortification should be glorified in the person of the apostle, and the resurrection of the body preached in unmistakable terms. Since the discovery of the Coptic fragments we know that he attributed the work to the apostle himself. It was an "Acts of Paul according to the apostle." This helps at once to account for its popularity and for the severity with which the hierarchy of his province treated him.

The author was well acquainted with the canonical epistles of Saint Paul and with the Acts of the Apostles,—they are formally pillaged in order to decorate the narrative. He adds nothing to our knowledge of the Apostle—an indication that by the end of the second century nothing more was remembered in Asia Minor than what is found in the New Testament. We think that Dr. Schmidt goes too far when he maintains that the entire "Acta Pauli" are only an historical romance, without any value for the history of the apostolic period. Many learned men maintain the contrary and their arguments are not to be despised.

The opinion of Dr. Schmidt that the "Acta Pauli" offer us a reliable picture of ordinary Christianity in Asia Minor during the reign of the Antonines seems far from correct. He ends his description of it with these words (p. xii):

"Though this work brings us but little or no increase of knowledge concerning the apostolic age, it is of great utility for the study of the history of the primitive Catholic Church. The investigator will find it a most valuable source of information as to the nature of average Christianity about the end of the second century, and the ideals cherished under forms that were then, with set purpose, dated back to the days of the apostles. Nowhere does this simple Christianity shine before us so transparently. It is content with the confession of the divinity of the Father and of his Son Jesus Christ and knows nothing as yet of fine-spun dogmatic researches. The purpose of genuine Christian teaching is the realization of the high moral ideal of continency, the reward of which is the hoped-for resurrection in the future kingdom of God. This simple Christianity drew edification from the miracles of the apostles, and found the evidence of its divine origin in the power of Christians over the forces of nature and particularly over the demons. It is this popular or average expression of Christianity that made up the every-day preaching to the multitudes. Thereby was the heathen world convinced, not at all by the intellectual argument, the philosophical dogma, of the apologists. The primitive Christian Church owes more to the 'Acts of Paul' in its character of pious reading for missionaries and laymen than to many a work of Irenaeus, Origen and Tertullian that is to-day highly prized by the historian of dogma."

These conclusions assume that at a given period private and unauthorized, nay condemned and rejected, documents may represent the spirit and principles of average Christianity better than the public statements and teachings of its official representatives; that

a forged romance, composed more than a century after the death of its hero, and formally commingling all the phases of a very troubled century of organization and persecution, is a better mirror of the belief and the hope of the plain Christian man and woman of the days of Justin and Tertullian than the noble and frank writings of these men, themselves converts from average paganism, and public teachers of the Christians. Dr. Schmidt reveals in these phrases that boundless subjectivism of many a German savant which opens the door to an equally boundless pyrrhonism in history. The principles of this science are as sacred in the domain of ecclesiastical life as in that of profane life. Who would accept one Egyptian romance as typical of the average philosophy of the time of the Pharaohs, or the gossipy "Metamorphoses" of Apuleius as representative of the average social life of Roman Africa? Such works have their utility and their place that ought not to be exaggerated, at the risk of damaging the scientific nature and value of history The "average Christianity of the second century" is written out large and glorious in the anonymous Letter to Diognetus, in the Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to the brethren in Asia, in the encyclical Letter of the Church of Smyrna on the death of Polycarp, and in the immortal collection of contemporary Christian correspondence that lies embedded in the pages of Eusebius. The anonymous author of the "Acta Pauli" would never have been condemned by a council of Christian bishops if he stood for the average religious feeling and praxis of their own congregations—it was precisely because he offended that feeling and spirit that this earliest of Christian synods in the Gentile world rebuked this unknown presbyter, who was certainly a literary champion of no mean rank. They said to him, practically, what St. Augustine said on a later occasion: *non egemus mendaciis vestris.*

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Afrique Chrétienne. Par Dom Leclercq. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1904. 2 vols., 8°, pp. xliv + 435, 380.

The Catholic Church in Roman Africa had a large and eventful career of about five hundred years, from the end of the second to the end of the seventh century. In that time it grew from obscure and unseemly origins to great influence and authority in the whole Roman world, only to enter upon a period of decay that nothing could arrest short of final eclipse and ruin. It began its career while the Roman Empire was at the height of its power and prestige; its dying agonies were mingled with the last echoes of Roman collapse around that Mediterranean seaboard which it had

so long dominated. Half way in this dramatic course stands the figure of Saint Augustine, at once the interpreter of Græco-Roman antiquity and the father of mediæval philosophy and theology. He is himself the flower of fourth-century African theology that was dominated by the writings and the spirit of Saint Cyprian, as the latter was dominated to no small extent by the writings and spirit of Tertullian. In this church, therefore, there is a notable connexity of development, all the phases of which center about these three great names—Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine. Hence, the greater part of the more than eight hundred pages of these two admirable volumes is devoted to the ecclesiastical history of Africa as it revolves about these personalities, or is drawn from their writings. Dom Leclercq confessedly seeks the psychological element in the history of African Catholicism, partly because the modern mind loves to detect and study the human and personal elements of the past, and partly because no other section of ecclesiastical history so easily lends itself to this method of treatment, by reason of the abundance of material, definiteness of territory and people, intensity and unity of religious life, gravity of practical and immediate problems. Christian Africa has always been a beloved theme of ecclesiastical historians. Tillemont and Dupin, Morcelli and Münter in the past have contributed valuable pages to its history—in modern times the ancient materials have been usefully worked over by De Rossi and Cavedoni, Probst and Le Blant, not to speak of the very latest labors of Duchesne, Monceaux and Cabrol, or of the very numerous hagiological studies regularly recorded in the Analecta Bollandiana.

Dom Leclercq has done for the history of Christian Africa what Gaston Boissier accomplished for Roman Africa in its civil and profane sense—he has popularized an enormous amount of information collected, sifted, and organized chiefly by French scholars in the last generation. Not to speak of the epigraphical material laid up in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum and the correlated reviews and bulletins, there are the exhaustive critical labors of Tissot, Fournel, Renier, Toutain, Gsell, Cagnat, Pallu de Lessert, Boissière, Gauckler, Graillot, Berger, Saladin, De la Blanchère, de Villefosse, Babelon, Müller, and a small host of other writers who have illustrated very minutely and with success the antiquities of the African soil. Without disparaging the contributions of German scholars, we may say that these men have for the first time revealed to us in a scientific and critical way the riches of Roman architecture and epigraphy in Africa, and particularly the local topography of the great province. Apart from them, and in a way alone among the great modern archæ-

ologists stands the figure of Père Delattre, the indefatigable excavator and commentator of the Christian antiquities of Carthage, in as far as the soil of that famous city still preserves any record of the manifold life that once throbbed within its walls. The results of his writings —he may be called the De Rossi of Christian Africa—have been deftly and generously worked into these volumes of Dom Leclercq, to which they lend an added value and charm. There is again good reason to ask "Quid novi ex Africa"? The works of Monceaux on the literature of Christian Africa, of Boissier on Roman Africa, of Dom Leclercq in these volumes and in the articles of the Dictionnaire d'Archéologie et de Liturgie, are amply sufficient to enlighten the most omnivorous reader along the lines of the history and literature of Christian Africa. It is difficult to say which of the fourteen chapters of the work are the most novel and instructive—the ecclesiastical reader will find especial profit in the five introductory chapters on the physical elements of Christian life in Africa, the historical sources of our knowledge, the earliest dawning of Christian life, such public elements as the calendar, worship, the ecclesiastical constitution, the languages spoken and similar topics. In the valuable third chapter of the first volume entitled "Idées et Usages," he will find, beside an account of the inner Christian life drawn from the original sources, literary and monumental, some excellent pages (239–246) on "La Bible Africaine," with a very useful and up to date bibliography on the oldest Latin biblical versions traceable to the Christians of Africa. Teachers and students of ecclesiastical history will consult with pleasure and profit the appendix to the first volume. It is really a succinct and practical introduction to the study of Christian epigraphy as based on the Christian inscriptions of Roman Africa. We commend to all ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical libraries this latest issue of the "Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique" conducted by the Maison V. Lecoffre at Paris (90, Rue Bonaparte).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN

Eusebius' Onomastikon der Biblischen Ortsnamen, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, von Lic. Dr. Erich Klostermann, mit einer Karte von Palæstina. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 8°, pp. xxxvi + 207.

Eusebius' Theophanie, Die griechischen Bruchstücke und Uebersetzung der syrischen Ueberlieferung. Von Dr. Hugo Grossmann. Ibid., 1904. 8°, pp. xxix + 272.

This third volume of the works of Eusebius of Cæsarea in the

admirable series of the Berlin Kirchenväter-Commission brings us two important writings of the great scholar. The first is his Onomasticon or alphabetical catalogue of all the place-names of the Holy Land, chiefly those mentioned in the Old Testament, coupled with a description of the same, and the actual names used in his own day, very probably (Bardenhewer) a fragment of a larger topography of Palestine and Jerusalem. It was translated into Latin and enlarged by Saint Jerome, whose work is also reedited in juxtaposition with the Eusebian text. The composition of the latter falls about the year 330, after the completion of the Church History. In the first part of his introduction Dr. Klostermann treats briefly of the various geographical writings of Eusebius, the date of execution, the purpose, the division and the sources of the Onomasticon. Its principal source is Origen's Hexaplar recension of the Bible, though he often draws upon the writings of Josephus, and through the Hexaplar, on the recensions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. A special value of the Onomasticon lies in the identification of scriptural places through the use of writings now lost, and the personal knowledge of Eusebius himself. The contemporary "itineraria," local maps, lists of military stations, and the like, were surely accessible to him in the imperial bureaux at Cæsarea. The text is reproduced from the Greek Vatican manuscript 1456 (V) of the twelfth century, once the property of Cardinal Sirleti and at an earlier date of the monks of Mt. Sinai. Traces of the popularity of the Onomasticon among Greek Christians are found lately discovered in the Medaba mosaic-map, also in citations by Theodoret and especially by the scriptural commentator Procopius of Gaza. Saint Jerome was not the first to translate it into Latin, though his more or less mutilated translation made in 390, is the only one that has reached us, with corrections and additions according to his own knowledge and experience. No Syriac or Armenian translation has yet been discovered. The Onomasticon was first edited by the Jesuit Bonfrère (Paris, 1659), then by the Benedictine Martianay (1699), later in Sanson's Geographia Sacra (1704) and by Dom Vallarsi in 1735, in his edition of Saint Jerome—he was the lucky discoverer of the Greek text that has since served as exemplar. Other editions are those of Larsow and Parthey (1862), and de Lagarde (1887). Detailed studies of Klostermann (1902) and Thomsen (1903) preceded the execution of the present edition wherein are consigned the results of much scholarly text-research for more than two centuries. The topographical map of Palestine from Thomsen's "Palaestina nach dem Onomasticon des Eusebius (1903)" will be a welcome critical help to all scriptural students.

2. The vast erudition of Eusebius designated him for the office of Christian apologist; he fulfilled it admirably in his lengthy "Demonstration of the Gospel," and "Preparation for the Gospel." These two epoch-making works he afterward condensed in a book known as the "Theophania." The Greek text has been lost—only some fragments have reached us through Catenae-manuscripts of Nicetas of Heracleia. They were made known partly by Cardinal Mai from 1831 to 1847, and partly by J. A. Cramer in his edition (Oxford, 1844) of the Greek New Testament Catenae. It was already known through Assemani's Bibliotheca Orientalis (III, 18) that there existed a Syriac translation of this work. It was reserved for Henry Tattam to discover it among the Syriac manuscripts that he bought in Egypt in 1839. In 1842 the Syriac text was edited at Cambridge by Dr. Samuel Lee, and in 1843 he printed an English translation of the same. Dr. Grossmann has undertaken a new edition of the Greek fragments with the purpose of restoring the text, as far as possible, to its original condition. As a basis he uses the text of the Mai manuscript (Vaticanus 1611, saec, XII) and that found in the printed "Catenæ" in Mai and in Cramer. Parallel passages from other correlated writings of Eusebius are also used for the same purpose. A German translation of the Syriac version takes up the greater part of the work. Dr. Grossman considers as quite faulty the English translation of Dr. Lee, and undertakes "das wiederzugeben was der Autor der Theophanie hat sagen wollen, so gut es überliefert ist and so gut man das Ueberlieferte versteht." He explains (pp. xx–xxiv) the peculiarities of the Syriac version, notably its excessive verbal fidelity, and (p. xxviii–xxix) the principles that govern his German translation, whose main difficulty lies in remaining faithful at once to the Syriac and to the Greek, both in its traditional and its reconstructed shape.

The Berlin collection of the early Greek Christian writers and the Vienna collection of the Latin Christian writers deserve a prominent place in every ecclesiastical library that desires to keep itself up to date in all that pertains to the original texts of the Christian fathers and ecclesiastical writers. THOMAS J. SHAHAN

Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur. Von Otto Bardenhewer, Zweiter Band, vom Ende des zweiten bis zum Beginn des vierten Jahrhunderts. Freiburg im Breisgau and St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1903. Pp. xvi + 665. Ten Marks ($2.50).

Dr. Bardenhewer continues in this second stately volume his general description of the early theological literature of the Christian

Church. That he is exhaustive and profound results alone from the fact that this second volume of nearly seven hundred pages is devoted almost entirely to the Christian writings of the third century. It is about equally divided between the Orientals and the Occidentals. Prominent among the former are the men of the Alexandrine School—Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Demetrius, Heraclas, Ammonius, Dionysius, Anatolius, Theognostus, Pierius, Peter, Phileas, Hesychius and Hieracas. It seems that we must now abandon the interesting Letter of Theonas, but may add the Letter of the presbyter Psenosiris. Among the Syro-Palestinians we may count Julius Africanus, Alexander of Jerusalem, Beryllus of Bostra, Geminus of Antioch, Paul of Samosata, Malchion of Antioch, Lucian of Antioch, Dorotheus of Antioch, Pamphilus of Caesarea, the author of the Dialogus de recta in Deum fide, and the compilers of the Apostolic Didascalia and the Apostolic Church-Ordinance. Asia Minor contributes a few names of good sound—Firmilian of Cæsarea, Gregory the Wonder-worker, and Methodius of Olympus. Every reader will be thankful for the masterly summary (pp. 305–320) in which Bardenhewer collects the chief traits of the Oriental Christian mind. We do not remember to have seen any so clear outline in a multitude of works dealing with these subjects. Coupled with the introductory pages (1–13) they form an excellent methodical prologue to the study of the earliest Greek theologians.

The writers of the West are fewer, but not less important in the history of Christian thought. Among the Africans are Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius and Arnobius. Among the Romans still fewer names, Hippolytus, Novatian, the author of the Muratorian Fragment and some popes, authors of letters—Callistus, Pontian, Fabian, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen, Sixtus II, Dionysius, Felix, Miltiades. Elsewhere in the West appear Commodian, Victorinus of Pettau and Reticius of Autun. Considerations of a general character help to fix in the reader's mind the genius of the Western writers, quite as clearly as has been done for the writers of the Christian Orient. An appendix (pp. 611–641) on the most ancient "Acta Martyrum" brings the information of the average cultured reader up to date. Another appendix (pp. 642–658) describes the Jewish and heathen works taken up and worked over, to a greater or lesser extent, by the Christians of the period. Among them are the Pythagorean Sententiae of Xystus and the Hermetic writings, then the Book of Henoch, the Psalms of Solomon, the Ascensio Isaiae, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Apocalypses of Abraham and of Elias, an apocryphal Jeremias, the

Sibylline Books, the Book of Hystaspes, the pseudo-Phocylides, writings of Philo and of Josephus.

Already the work of Dr. Bardenhewer takes its place beside the monumental work of Harnack on the primitive Christian writings. So far nothing in its own peculiar line is equal to it for completeness and thoroughness; when the remaining four volumes shall have appeared we may point to this labor of a Catholic priest as a most accurate summing up of that almost countless host of researches in Christian patrology which we owe to the eager curiosity of the nineteenth century. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Saint Irénée. Par A. Dufourcq. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. 8°, pp. 202.

Saint Wandrille. Par Dom Besse. Ibid. 8°, pp. 181.

La Bienheureuse Jeanne De Lestonnac (1556–1640). Par R. Couzard. Ibid. 8°, pp. 220.

1. The chapters in which M. Dufourcq places before us the life of Saint Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in the latter quarter of the second century are the most scientific, serious, and useful in the Lecoffre Collection of "Les Saints." The surroundings of the first Christian theologian—pagan, heretical, ecclesiastical—his personality, his polemical method, the content of his remarkable work "Against Heresies" and his place in the history of Christian teaching, are treated with brevity, but with scholarly skill and sufficiency. Every student of the ecclesiastical condition of the second century may peruse this work with profit.

2. The life of the young Merovingian noble Wandregesilus (Wandrille) has always been looked on as typical among a thousand, revealing as it does the ardor, the spiritual longing, and the practical piety of a multitude of men of his class, during the early Frankish period. Saint Wandrille is well known as the founder of the great abbey of Fontenelle, once a gem of Christian Normandy. In it there reigned for many years the spirit of Saint Columbanus—Wandrille had made his monastic noviciate at Bobbio, and his monastery long remained an outpost of the Columban rule and religious temperament. Dom Besse is particularly qualified to write this lovely chapter of monastic sanctity, and his little book deserves a place beside the classic treatise of Montalembert and the newer writings of Legris, Vacandard, Malnory, Prou, and Marignan.

3. The first half of the seventeenth century beheld in France the "floraison" of the long and stubborn Catholic resistance to the ambition and violence of the Calvinist factions. Politically, the League

may be said to have failed or rather to have scored only a negative victory. As a matter of fact, its spirit survived and soon bred in all parts of France a multitude of enterprises and institutions through which not only the national church was enriched, but all future generations of Catholicism were endowed. One of the most notable of these enterprises was the foundation of the "Filles de Notre Dame" at Bordeaux in 1608, by Madame Jeanne de Lestonnac, the beloved niece of the great Montaigne. In its origin and government it bore for centuries the imprint of the Society of Jesus, by whose members it was nursed and strengthened until it became one of the great educational factors of monarchical France. The remarkable woman who founded the work was beatified by Leo XIII in 1900, to the great joy of the devoted army of teachers of female youth who, in the Old World and the New, owe their noble vocation to this ardent Catholic soul. While such women arise on the soil of France, the cause of its immemorial Catholicism can never become hopeless. It seems as if it were only in adversity that the truly great qualities of the French soul reveal themselves—its innate religiosity, its good sense and prudence, its largeness of view, unselfishness, and devotion to the common welfare.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part III, edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell, D.Litt., M.A., and Arthur S. Hunt, D.Litt., M.A. With six plates. London: 1903. Pp. xii + 338.

The third volume of this series of the publications of the Græco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the previous numbers of which were reviewed in the BULLETIN, continues the presentation of the material discovered at Oxyrhynchus in 1897, and in accordance with the chronological plan previously announced contains documents of the second century together with theological and classical papyri. The method of publication is essentially the same as that of the second volume, and the work is marked by the same painstaking care for all the numerous details involved in papyri publications, and a broad and accurate scholarship that leaves to the reviewer only the pleasant task of calling attention to the importance of the results attained.

The first section, Nos. **401–407,** devoted to Theological Papyri, contains a fragment of the lost Greek text of the Apocalypse of Baruch, known hitherto only in a Syriac translation, and a fragment of the missing Greek portion of the Shepherd of Hermas. In addition to these are fragments of the New Testament, a Christian prayer, and a

couple of badly mutilated fragments, one of which, containing a quotation of St. Matthew iii, 16–17, and dating from the second or third century, probably enjoys the distinction of being the oldest Christian fragment yet published.

The following section, Nos. **408–444,** contains the New Classical Fragments. Here fortune has dealt unkindly, for the richest gifts that she has bestowed—seventy lines of Pindar and a hundred of the Kolax of Menander, the play on which Terence drew for his Eunuchus —are so mutilated as to baffle for the greater part the ingenuity that has been expended on their reconstruction. Even in their mutilated condition, as some twenty odd lines of each are readable, they are gifts which we must accept with thankfulness. Besides, they show what treasures are lying hidden under the sand of Egypt, hold out the hope that similar texts may, when fortune chooses to smile, be recovered in better condition, and so emphasize the importance of such thorough and systematic search for papyri as the editors are conducting. In an even worse condition is No. **419,** the scrap of the Archelaus of Euripides, the Poetical Fragments grouped as Nos. **421–434** (except **425,** which is the least interesting) and the Prose Fragments, Nos. **435–444.** Nor are the fragments of Romances, Nos. **416–417** in much better condition.

On the other hand, we have in fair preservation parts of a treatise on Rhetoric, No. **410,** in the Doric dialect, the composition of which is probably to be assigned to the fourth century before Christ, and which has preserved an interesting variant hitherto unknown in Iliad, ix, 389. No. **411** is a fragment from a life of Alcibiades, dealing with the period between the mutilation of the Hermæ and his defection to the Lacedæmonians. The author whom the editors place before Plutarch has drawn on Thucydides and some other source, but adds nothing to our knowledge of his subject.

The following papyrus contains the last two columns of the eighteenth book of the *Κεστοί* of Julius Africanus. In addition to the information that it gives about the author and his work, it is in itself a most remarkable production. It presents a text of a portion of the eleventh book of the Odyssey expanded by the addition of lines taken from the Iliad, hexameters manufactured *ad hoc,* and a lengthy incantation, assumes this as the original text, and raises the question, whether it was reduced to its usual form by the poet himself or the Peisistratidai! Furthermore, the author declares that there is manuscript authority for his contention in Jerusalem, Caria and Rome. No. **413** is also a remarkable papyrus, containing considerable portions of a farce and a mime that, as the editors say, "afford a

most interesting glimpse into the music-hall of the period." Besides these, we have in No. **414** fragments, unfortunately brief, of a philosophical discussion on poetry, and in No. **415** fragments of a speech probably by Isaeus. No. **418** contains mythological scholia on lines 263, 264 and 399 of the first book of the Iliad, and No. **420** is a portion of an unknown argument to the Electra of Euripides.

The third section, Nos. **445–463**, Fragments of Extant Classical Authors is of more than usual interest. Among the four Homeric papyri is a very noteworthy one containing considerable portions of the sixth book of the Iliad and assigned by the editors to the close of the second or the beginning of the third century of our era. In addition to an evidently excellent text, that in part shows affinities with our best manuscript traditions in part is superior to it, it contains a number of critical marks and variant readings, together with marginal scholia, giving the authorities for some of the readings. It is consequently of importance for the history of the transmission of the text apart from its own contributions to the constitution of the text. Its reading in line 493 *πᾶσι μάλιστα δ' ἐμοὶ τοὶ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν*, thus preserving the traces of the digamma, is a welcome confirmation of an emendation that had been made partly on metrical grounds, partly on the basis of parallel passages in the Odyssey. In the following line the papyrus reads: *ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας κόρυθ' εἵλετο χε[ιρὶ παχείῃ* with *φαί[διμος Ἕκτωρ* written above the line. The latter is the reading of all our manuscripts but the reading of the papyrus is not only suitable but gains in probability on account of the ease with which the vulgate reading can be explained as an assimilation to line 472 *αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς κόρυθ' εἵλετο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ* influenced also by the desire to make the situation unnecessarily clear. New but less valuable variants occur also in lines 487 and 523; in line 187 the papyrus and its corrector exhibit readings hitherto poorly attested while apparently ignoring the ordinary reading. It is possible, however, as the papyrus is unfortunately mutilated, that the latter was recognized in a marginal note.

Among the papyri of other authors a number repeat the familiar lesson that the value of a manuscript does not depend solely upon its age, and that the texts contained in the manuscripts of the middle ages are frequently no more corrupt than those that were in circulation in the early centuries of our era. Thus Nos. **455, 456, 461, 462** are all in substantial agreement with our texts of Plato and Demosthenes. No. **451** offers but one variant *ἔτι μηδένα* for *μηδένα ἔτι*. No. **458** (parts of Aesch. ii, 21, 26–27, 29–30) agrees with our texts even in containing the evident gloss *ἡμᾶς τῶν συμπρεσβέων* and the suspicious *ἔχειν*

before ἐπηγγέλλετο. It blunders independently in omitting the following καί, a fault the editors fail to note. In the same way No. **450** (Eur. Med. 710–715) is in agreement with our manuscripts although the last two lines are most probably an interpolation and δόμοις for δόμων is assimilated to the case of the preceding χώρᾳ.

A number of the papyri, however, are of more importance for the criticism of the texts, either by strengthening the testimony in favor of readings, the correctness of which had been doubted, by confirming conjectures, or by bringing new variants. The more important of these points may be briefly noted. No. **449** (Eur. And. 5–48) omits line seven which has been recognized as an interpolation from the time of the scholiast; probably also line 38 which is bracketed by Nauck. Its variant in line 27 τεχθέντος for σωθέντος gives a better meaning to the passage, but this aorist has hitherto had no better warrant than ps.-Eur. fr. 1117.44. No. **452** (part of Thuc. iv. 87) has the more poetical word ἀείμνηστον (which is found also i. 33; ii. 43, 64) for ἀίδιον; but its πλειστους for πλείους is not acceptable and πρωτον for πρῶτοι seems to be a misprint.

The long fragment of Plato's Gorgias, 507b–508d, contained in No. **454**, exhibits a text that, while not valuable in itself, is of interest because of its relation to the text employed by Iamblichus and Stobæus. The worse faults of our manuscripts tradition—the omission of ἄθλιοι in 508b, and the interpolation in 508c—occur in the papyrus and are thus shown to be at least as old as the second century. The variant εκβαλειν for ἐκβάλλειν in 508d cannot be accepted as the manuscript reading shows the fine distinction between the present and the aorist infinitive which the editors of Plato should never have attempted to efface.

No. **457** (Æsch. iii, 167) is an interesting fragment that confirms the judgment of Blass in following *ekl* in reading: σὺ θετταλοὺς ἀφιστάναι; σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην ἀποστήσειας which had been abandoned by Franke and Weidner. It offers besides the correct reading: προσκαθιζήσει, which had been conjecturally restored by Lobeck. Of its other variants, however, παρεστιν for πρόσεστιν is the only one that deserves consideration. Unfortunately it depends entirely on the size of the lacuna at the end of line 18 and had προσε|στιν been written this line would have contained no more letters than are found in lines 16 and 21 of the same column.

No. **459** (Dem. xiii, 110–119) supports the manuscripts by reading in 113 το αιτιον where Rosenberg would omit the article and in 117 τινα αν ει πασης αρξειεν where Blass follows the marginal reading of Σ: ἄρξας for εἰ . . . ἄρξειεν. It also contains in 115 the same corrup-

tion that is found in the manuscripts ἦν[δτε] πᾶσαν. The cause of the corruption is particularly evident in the papyrus as immediately above these words stand ην οτε αφειστηκει. A number of the new variants are clearly inferior, but on the other hand, ανευ δε for ἄνευ γὰρ in 112; the insertion of καὶ before τὰ πάροντα in 113; and the reading of the first hand εἶχεν in 114, which had been conjectured by Wolf and Dindorf, are worthy of serious consideration. The long lacuna in line 44 may have contained a correction of πεισθητε to πειθησθε followed by χαι εκεινο.

No. **460** (parts of Dem. v. 21, 23) not only confirms Blass' omission of εἶναι in 23 after ἡγοῦντο, but brings a welcome contribution to the restoration of a passage the corruption of which has long been recognized. In 21 the manuscripts read: οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι. For this Blass reads: οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι; Weil: ... δοκεῖ <πλέον> εἶναι and Rosenberg ... ἐδόκει περιεῖναι. The papyrus now offers: οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς κέρδος ἦν. In the general idea this agrees with the emendations of the last two editors but the transition to the following sentence is too abrupt and we have lost with the ἐδόκει the reference to the preceding δόξαν. The most probable solution seems to me the assumption of a lacuna: εἰ μὴ παρῆλθε Φίλιππος οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς κέρδος ἦν ... αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι. The first clause corresponds to the πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι πέπραχταί τι the lost clause to πρὸς δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἴσχιστα and is taken up naturally by the following ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἠβούλοντο. The hiatus in ἐδόκει εἶναι suggests that these words may have undergone some further corruption.

Finally in No. **463** we have a papyrus of unusual value. It consists of the lower portions of eight columns containing parts of Xenophon, Anabasis, vi, 6, 9–24, and is assigned by the editors to the close of the second or the first half of the third century of our era. Its value will be most readily seen if compared with a modern text that may be considered as a reconstruction of the archetype of all our manuscripts. For reasons of convenience I have compared it with Harper and Wallace's reproduction of Hug's text. The papyrus exhibits but eight variants: of these κελεύουσι in section 20 which is also the reading of the *codices deteriores* is on account of its intrinsic merit as *lectio difficilior* to be taken into the text. I should also read in section 10 with the papyrus πονηρὸν ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι; Hug with ABCE: πονηρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει εἶναι, while the other manuscripts have: πονηρὸν ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐκεῖνο εἶναι. Whether in the same section ῾Ελλησιν should be read with the papyrus or ῾Ελλησι with the manuscripts it is impossible to decide. On the other hand in section 18 σῴζεσθε cannot be accepted even on the authority of the papyrus as it is prob-

ably an assimilation to the preceding πολεμεῖτε while the variation between imperative and optative can easily be paralleled, cf. Gildersleeve, SCG. p. 155. The other four passages seem blunders on the part of the papyrus although something might be said in defence of the omisson of ἤ in section 20; two of the others are, however, merely slight clerical errors ποι for ὅποι and εαν for ἄν; while the last and most serious is the dropping of a line Δέξιππον δὲ οἶδα. At the most then the papyrus has five errors, all but one of which could easily have been corrected without the aid of other manuscripts, and this is a better showing than is made by any manuscripts in this passage. On the other hand it is to be noted that the papyrus, though in two cases it decides in favor of the reading hitherto rejected, does not offer any acceptable reading that is not already contained in the manuscripts. The papyrus also contained the words καὶ μὴ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποδραμόντων which Hug following Cobet had bracketed.

The fourth section entitled Miscellaneous Literary Fragments, Nos. **464–470,** comprises astrological, gymnastic, alchemistic, medical, grammatical and mathematical fragments. In the fifth section are the Second Century Documents, Nos. **471–533,** the wide range and interest of which may be briefly indicated by the headings of the subdivisions under which they are arranged. Official Returns, Petitions, Wills, Contracts, Receipts, Accounts, Private Correspondence. In addition to the papyri published *in extenso* there are given collations of Homeric Fragments, Nos. **534–573,** and Descriptions of Second Century Documents, Nos. **574–653.** Pages 291–338 contain the various indices which are supplied with a liberality that must increase our gratitude to the editors. The plates at the close of the volume are excellently executed and though only six in number represent fourteen papyri.

In conclusion I would again urge all friends of classical studies of whom there must be many among the readers of the BULLETIN to become subscribers to the Græco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund. They will not only receive in return for their subscription a valuable and interesting publication, but they will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are aiding one of the most important plans to advance our knowledge of Greek and Roman life, and one which, thanks to the energy, skill and scholarship of Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt is productive of the most important results.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

Alcuin: His Life and His Work. By C. J. B. Gaskoin. New York: Macmillan, 1904. 8°, pp. 274.

This contribution to the history of mediæval education is substantially the Hulstean Prize Essay (Cambridge) for 1899. Around the figure of Alcuin (735–804) center all the serious educational movements of the Carolingian period—his pure, humble and learned life has always been looked on as a model of the Christian scholars existence. Coupled with the life and works of Saint Bede, Alcuin's life and works make of the eighth century in England a period of relief and consolation. This work is well executed—the materials are used critically, with moderation usually and good sense. The best modern literature was at the author's disposal, and he has, in general, made the most of the opportunities such treasures offer for the compilation of an historical thesis of recognized value. Jaffé and Duemmler, Hauck, Duchesne, Dom Morin, Dom Baeumer, Ebert and Mullinger, Probst and Sägmüller, Stubbs and Thalhofer, and many others, appear as his guides thus showing a candor and catholicity of thought and temper that are refreshing. The opening chapters (pp. 1–40) on the schools of Wales and Ireland, Canterbury, Jarrow and York, are worthy of a careful perusal. The life of Alcuin and the description of his writings are drawn directly from his letters and his works, while the details are sufficiently illuminated by such reference to contemporary history as his career demands or suggests. Very beautiful and consoling are the three chapters (VIII–X) on Alcuin's work, theological, educational, liturgical, and biblical; from them shines out after eleven centuries the lovely soul of the good man who sanctified as few others the office of the ecclesiastical teacher. Mr. Gaskoin is far from being unjust to the Irish influences that condition and underlie the history of Alcuin as a teacher; perhaps an Irish scholar would have made more of them. Here and there as on p. 212, he appears to deprecate somewhat the attachment of Alcuin to the Roman See. But any fair-minded reader will need no more than the perusal of that very chapter of the work to be persuaded that in the introduction of the Roman Liturgy into the Gallican Church Alcuin aimed at something far more than a practical standard of order and a model of uniformity. Whoever has read the papal documents from the fourth to the sixth century concerning unity in liturgical matters knows that the Roman teaching on this subject proceeded from an intimate conviction of headship over the churches and an equally intimate sense on their part that this headship was original and unbroken.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Lent and Holy Week: A Chapter on Catholic Observance and Ritual. By Herbert Thurston, S.J. New York: Longmans, 1904. 8°, pp. xv + 487.

In these pages the erudite Father Thurston aims at giving to the general reader "a popular account of those external observances by which the season of paschal preparation is marked off from the rest of the ecclesiastical year." He deals chiefly with those points of historical and liturgical interest which bring us into contact with the practice of the early Christian centuries. He says, too modestly, that his work is only "a plain statement of liturgical facts such as would be accepted by the more scientific students of every communion." As a matter of fact, the reader will find in the work both rare and useful erudition concerning the whole course of the Lenten Fast, its peculiarities, the historical reasons for them and the explanation of all the principal ceremonies—all this set forth in the historical style best suited to such subjects, and that is easily and correctly handled only by one who is at home in the materials and the methods that it presupposes. The work has a peculiar utility by reason of the abundant use of Anglo-Saxon liturgical sources. We commend particularly pages 60–83; the reader will learn much from them concerning the practice of auricular confession in the earliest Anglo-Saxon Church. Where was it taken from if not from the Apostolic See whence it drew its architecture, its liturgy, its very origin and being, according to the eloquent confession of Saint Bede? This book is admirably fitted both for public and private reading.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Rural Conditions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania, by Helen Gertrude Preston. Philadelphia: 1903. 8°, pp. 59.

Miss Preston has made a very orderly and interesting collection of facts concerning the agricultural conditions of the temporary feudal kingdom that the French Crusaders established in Syria and Palestine. From a long list of chronicles, local special and general histories, pilgrim-books and souvenirs, chartularies and other documentary collections she has selected a great many details that illustrate the economic conditions of the land, the people, and the relations of both. Most of the material has been accessible in the printed col-

lections of Oriental historical material that the second half of the nineteenth century brought forth. These pages indicate care and industry, a sense of order, proportion and relation, likewise a good grasp of the main outlines of the problems that confronted the Western feudal colonist in the heart of so ancient a community as the Syro-Palestinian. We miss very much an index, an indispensable element of such productions, once they are offered to the general public. We miss also a few paragraphs on the relations of the clergy and the churches to the land, also a brief account of the ideas that the Frankish crusaders brought with them in their existing feudal law-books and praxis, with some notice of the conditions they destroyed by their innovations. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Sancti Antonii De Padua Vitæ Duæ, quarum altera hucusque inedita, edidit, notis et commentario illustravit Léon de Kerval. Paris: Fischbacher, 1904. 8°, pp. xvi + 314.

This is the fifth volume of Franciscan historical material published under the auspices of the "Société Internationale d'Etudes Franciscaines" that owes its inception to the zeal of M. Paul Sabatier for the story of the life and work of Saint Francis of Assisi. It has always been notorious among historians that contemporary original authorities for the life of Saint Anthony of Padua (? 1195–1232) were either not forthcoming or have reached us in a very defective state. Little or no critical labor had been spent on the "fontes" of this wonderful life, and much of what passed for his history was based on manuscript accounts that did not go back farther than the latter half of the fourteenth century. Since 1892 the writings of Dr. Edward Lempp, the edition by Fr. Ferd. Marie d'Araules (1899) of the "Vita" by the Franciscan Jean Rigauld of Limoges, compiled about 1300, the articles (1901–1903) in the "Voix de Saint Antoine," and the life by the Abbé Lèpître in the Lecoffre collection of "Les Saints," have improved the situation. M. Kerval adds now a new edition of the oldest life of Saint Anthony, which he dates as far back as the years immediately following the death of the Saint, and with which he correlates the "miracula" of four other quite ancient manuscripts. This first life or "Legenda Prima," had been more than once printed, but had become rare. Mr. Kerval reproduces the text from a copy of the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth, now preserved in the Public Library of Lisbon. The second life, hitherto unedited, is reproduced from a manuscript now belonging to the Protestant Faculty of Theology of the University

of Paris, and was written near Padua, by an Italian Franciscan, between 1293 and 1367, probably in the year 1316. This and other fourteenth century lives manifest an increasing "processus" of miraculous deeds and events that help to deepen the aureola that Paduan devotion from the beginning wove about the head of the great preacher and mystic who had lent so much distinction to their town. Apropos of these two ancient texts, M. Kerval has brought together in his work a description of all the known ancient materials for the life of Saint Anthony. They are not only counted and described but critically discussed, so that his work may rightly be called "un instrument pratique de travail" for all who are interested in the Thaumaturgus of Padua. The book is quite "décousu" at first appearance, and there are some repetitions. But a full and lengthy index permits the student to control the labors of the author. Scattered through the footnotes are useful critical remarks that ought not be overlooked by any future writer on Saint Anthony. They deal e. g., with the date of his birth, his family, his change of name, the length and date of his stay in Sicily, his hermit life, the time of his ordination to the priesthood (before or after joining the Franciscans?) the so-called "Sermons" of Saint Anthony, the legends of the fishes, the miser's heart, and the apparition of the Infant Jesus, his refusal (?) to receive Extreme Unction, the sedition aroused by his death, the motive for his hasty canonization, the statement of Salimbene that Anthony was "socius Sancti Francisci," his alleged victory over Ezzelino, the very ancient mosaic of him at the Lateran, his relations with Brother Elias, and other points of much interest. The work is strictly critical, yet sincerely devout and Catholic, and aims at establishing "sous une couche fort épaisse d'amplifications progressives et d'embellissements merveilleux, des vestiges, des *linéaments,* si j'ose dire, de faits réels" (p. 237). The figure of Saint Anthony appears to the author as one of those pre-Raphaelite masterpieces that needs to be cleansed by a skilful and sympathetic hand, in order that one may see and enjoy all the "éclat puissant et ingénu de sa robustesse primitive" (p. viii). It is a pleasure to note that the Franciscans themselves are henceforth among the foremost workers at a critical history of the origins of the great social and religious transformation of the thirteenth century whose true root was in the heart of the Poverello of Assisi.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN

Antwerp: An Historical Sketch. By Wilfrid C. Robinson. London: R. and T. Washbourne; New York: Benziger, 1904. 8°, pp. 288.

What a happy idea this pen-picture of the superb municipal life of the great old Catholic city of Antwerp! Would that we had a long series of similar solid and meaty books on other noble cities of Europe —the handiwork of our Catholic forefathers, in which were truly fashioned all the best elements of our modern liberty! Mr. Robinson has drawn for us a charming and instructive sketch of the splendid Belgian mart that for over a thousand years has gathered and distributed the commerce of the known world. These slow-going burghers by the "wandering Scheldt" have been merchant-princes for so long that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. They welcomed and exploited the mediæval Merchant Adventurers of England and the cities of the Hanseatic League. They disputed with Spain and Portugal the commerce of the newly found "Western India." They stood at the portals through which passed the increasing wealth of the newer industrial ages. And all that time the things of the mind were esteemed and cultivated—the laws, institutions and interests of municipal life, the local and personal liberties of the people, the beauty and grandeur of religious architecture, the power of the printing-press, the irresistible charm of scientific history, the enthusiasm of the fine arts. Charles the Bold and Charles the Fifth, Alva and Parma, Maximilian and Marlborough, what mighty names in history are written on every page of the history of Antwerp! And not less mighty in the history of the mind are the names of Plantin and Bollandus, Quentin Matsys and the princely Rubens. It was the proud boast of the mediæval Colonna that for five hundred years their names had been inserted in every treaty of peace—no less truly can it be said of Antwerp that for a still longer period its citizens have figured in every European movement of any importance. This is a book to be placed in the libraries of Catholic schools and academies, to be read and commented in classes of history, with the aid of photographs and engravings. The lack of them in the book itself is a serious drawback—perhaps another edition might supply this defect.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Sources De L'Histoire De France. Par Auguste Molinier, IV, Les Valois (1328–1461). Paris: Picard, 1904. 8°, pp. 354.

French historians may already put down to the credit of their nation the most useful of those modern historical bibliographies that

deal with great political entities. M. Molinier has every reason to be proud of the four volumes in which he has collected the 4,662 notices of original historical works that deal with the fortunes of the people of France from the earliest period to the year 1461. In this volume the vicissitudes of the national historiography show the inner changes that are coming over mediæval France. The annals and chronicles are more seldom monastic in their composition. The lay element appears, already announced by a Ruteboeuf and the Roman du Renard. The personal note plays an even more prominent part. The Hundred Years' War gradually draws all France into its endless combinations and ramifications—no single history any longer suffices, and a multitude of local histories arise. Administrative and financial documents begin to abound, are preserved, survive all changes of government, and give up to us many interesting details of the life of mediæval France on the eve of the Renaissance. Modern diplomacy recognizes one source of its growth in the instructions, letters, treaties, secret reports, etc., of the numerous political agents of France, especially in England and Italy. In this period France and England are so closely united that the work amounts to a partial biography of the sources of English History. Among the interesting paragraphs the historian will find excellent critical bibliographies of Froissart and of Monstrelet, of the Great Schism, and particularly of Joan of Arc (4458–4662). All students of her history will need hencefort to consult these pages. French letters are to so great an extent the child of French historical writing that the work of M. Molinier is also of very great value to all students of that national literature.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique, contenant l'exposé des doctrines de la théologie catholique, leurs preuves et leur histoire, commencé sous la direction de A. Vacant, continué sous celle de E. Mangenot. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903. 4°, Fascicule XI, col. 395–714. Bardesane-Benoit de Nursie.

The eleventh issue of the "Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique" is before us, and in no wise belies the promises of the previous numbers. Among the doctrinal articles those on "Béatitude" and "Bénédictions" are the longest and most useful. The articles on Church History are both numerous and lengthy. Patrology is represented by the conclusion of the article on Bardesanes and by Basilides, also by the studies on the Epistle of Barnabas and on St. Basil. The article on the legend of "Barlaam and Josaphat" is very instructive,

while the biographies of the Protestant theologian Bayle and the Catholic theologian Bellarmine are replete with interest. The article entitled "Travaux des Bénédictins" will be new to many readers, and is one of the best in the fascicule. We may also mention the valuable account of Belgium from a Catholic view-point, the studies on Saint Bede, the Béguines, and on Benedict XII. It is to be regretted that the figure of the most scholarly of the modern popes, Benedict XIV, should have been treated with such relative brevity. The space given to Benedict XII might well have been divided with Benedict XIV, truly an epoch-making figure in papal history. The fascicule closes with the opening pages of an article on the founder of the Benedictine order.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. Publié par Dom F. Cabrol, avec le concours d'un grand nombre de collaborateurs. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903. 4°, Fascicule III, col. 577–876. Afrique-Agneau.

The third fascicule of this new Dictionary of Christian Archæology and Liturgy brings us the conclusion of the very exhaustive article on (Christian) Africa—its topography, liturgy, archæology and languages, also a long disertation on the "Agape" or Love-feast of the primitive Christians, the beginning of another dissertation on the "Agneau" in Christian symbolism, and a study by Dom Leclercq of the Martyrs of the Theban Legion under the title "Agaune," the place of martyrdom. Without discussing critically the evidence for and against this famous event in the history of the persecutions, the writer speaks of it (p. 850) as a "récit dont la valeur historique demeure toujours discutable." Even the historical data for the early period of the famous monastery are more the result of conjecture than of historical demonstration (p. 855). Most of the numerous illustrations are excellent, notably those of the articles on Africa. All students of Church History look forward with anxiety to the completion of this very useful help to our knowledge of Christian antiquity. Brevity, clearness, typographical taste, scientific method, and the latest "literature" characterize usually every article. Taken all in all it is a credit to those French Benedictines of Farnborough, to whom we are already indebted for other valuable works of the same nature.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Historical Geography of Europe. By Edward A. Freeman. Third edition, edited by J. B. Bury. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, 2 vols., pp. 511 and LXV maps.

This classical help to the study of general European history had become rare and we have to thank both editor and publishers for a third edition that places in the hands of every student of history a most welcome and efficient help. The editor rightly says of the book that

"It is remarkable for the novelty of its conception, and the perfectly amazing skill with which he has marshalled and set forth numerous arrays of dry facts, which become through his masterly arrangement easy to understand and survey. It has an artistic construction, depending on the central idea which groups the geographical vicissitudes of Europe in relation to the Roman Empire; and though every sentence is thronged with names, it is not a mere book of reference like the meritorious text to the Spruner-Menke Atlas; it can be read consecutively. It may be predicted that it will be as fresh and as useful to students a hundred years hence as it is to-day; and it can always be easily brought up to date by brief additions, without the necessity of any change in its texture."

Dr. Bury has made here and there a few insertions in the text, modified, omitted, or added a few foot-notes, corrected a few trifling errors—otherwise this very original and unique work of the historian of the Norman Conquest remains intact. It is an indisputable adjunct to the working library of any teacher or student of general European history. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Geschichte der Unauflöslichkeit und der Vollkommenen Scheidung der Ehe im kanonischen Recht. Von Dr. Ignaz Fahrner. B. Herder, Freiburg i. Breisgau and St. Louis, Mo., 1904. 8°, pp. xii + 340. $2.00.

A history of Christian marriage from the point of view of its indissolubility is a notable contribution both to Canon Law and Church History. The fine work of Freisen (1898) reaches only to the period of the glossators of mediæval canon law while that of Geffcken (1894) stops at the Decretum of Gratian. The essay of Sehling (1887) deals chiefly with espousals, while the treatise of Esmein remains yet at the first volume.[1]

Dr. Fahrner presents in this volume the first part of a complete history of the elements of indissolubility and divorce in Christian

[1] Le mariage en droit canonique, I, Paris, 1891.

marriage, from the earliest times down to our own day. The work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is taken up with a study of the history of divorce among the Greeks, Romans and Jews, the teaching of Jesus Christ and Saint Paul, the attitude of the Church in the Empire before and after Constantine, later under the Western dynasties of the Merovinginians, Carolingians and post-Carolingians. This conspectus (pp. 1–120) of the history of the bond of Christian marriage brings us to the end of the twelfth century and is particularly welcome. In the second chapter the history of the marriage tie is brought down to the middle of the sixteenth century. The teachings of Peter Lombard and Gratian, the scientific discussions of canonists and actual legislation, the evolution of the "casus apostoli," the divergent views of schoolmen, are expounded briefly but clearly and attractively. In this chapter he makes good use of the canonico-literary labors of the late regretted Paul Fournier, and of von Schulte, Singer and Geitl, through whose efforts several important canonical works of this period have been edited and commented. The third chapter deals (pp. 226–340) with the same subject from the Council of Trent to our own day. It completes a work that is highly recommendable as the only satisfactory history of the Christian marriage tie as such. We await with interest the appearance of the second part of this book, in which the author promises to treat of the history of partial divorce.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Ancien Clergé De France. Par l'Abbé Sicard. II, Les Evêques pendant la Revolution, de 1789 à l'Exil. 3d ed. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. III, Les Evêques pendant la Revolution, de l'Exil au Concordat, Ibid., 1903. 8°, pp. 513, 570.

These two volumes are the continuation of the noble work on the French Clergy of the Eighteenth Century begun by the Abbé Sicard in 1893.[1] They deserve very great praise for the frankness and vigor of the historical doctrine they contain, and which is drawn from the most reliable sources. They are truly important, for while they reveal things that are regrettable and blameworthy in the conduct of some members of the higher clergy of France, they hold the balance evenly by means of a corresponding description of the admirable virtues and good deeds of this aristocratic episcopate, in many of whom adversity first revealed unsuspected treasures of goodness. The rejection by the great majority of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and their sufferings in exile, are themes of great power and

[1] Les Evêques avant la Revolution, Paris, V. Lecoffre, 1893, 8°, pp. 523.

dignity. Abbé Sicard has treated them with much skill—his account of the French episcopate from 1789 to 1804 will always remain a work of reference, so faithfully has he adhered to the documents and solid historical proofs. It is also a living breathing work. The author has convictions and does not hesitate to confess them, but he does so only after an honest and calm exposé of all the pertinent facts, or classes of facts. The work has a special interest in these days when the shadows of religious persecution are again falling upon the clergy of France. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Correspondance Du Duc D'Enghien (1801–1804) et Documents sur son enlevement et sa mort, publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par le Comte Boulay de la Meurthe. Tome I. Paris: Picard, 1904. 8°, pp. 521.

No act of Napoleon has left so permanent a stain upon his name as the violent seizure and execution of the young Duc d'Enghien. Opinion has always been divided as to the actual share of the young Bourbon prince in the conspiracy of the Chouan chief Georges Cadoudal, but statesmen have universally condemned his execution as an impolitic act that contributed its own share to the ultimate ruin of the fortunes of the Emperor. M. Boulay de la Meurthe undertakes the cleansing of the duke's memory from the charge of conspiracy. This he does partly by a lengthy essay of seventy-five pages in which he relates in detail the inner history of the attempts of the Bourbons (1800–1804) to recover their rights to the throne of France, at a period when their former allies had grown timid in view of the military fortune of the First Consul, and partly by the publication of the correspondence of the Duc d'Enghien. Only the first volume of the latter has so far been published and is mostly made up of letters to and from his royal relatives, to Bourbon agents and to confidential friends. The collection of documents published by the Société pour l'Histoire Contemporaine grows in interest and value as it grows in size. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Forty Years in the United States of America. By the late Rev. Augustus J. Thébaud, S.J. Edited by Charles George Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D. New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1904. Pp. 363.

From the time, one hundred and forty years ago, when Father Thébaud's illustrious countryman, Choiseul, commissioned French officers to examine the relations of England and her American de-

pendencies, men and women of various professions and of different nations have written their impressions of the United States. If in a long line of intelligent observers some of his predecessors have attended more to the literary style of their narratives, and if others have cast their discourses in forms more scientific, it is doubtful whether any of them has written more vividly or more instructively than this modest and sympathetic priest, for he gives us little that was not the result of his own observations. There is in his reminiscences, it is true, something that is familiar, but this was unavoidable, for our characteristic institutions could hardly have failed to impress earlier observers. His retrospect was not written at the request of a bookseller, but comprehends a respectable body of information gathered, during two score years, by a keen student of social phenomena. With the recorded history of America he does not greatly trouble his reader, and in consequence his work has upon it the stamp of originality.

When the battle of Waterloo was fought Father Thébaud was eight years of age, and during the eventful years following the overthrow of Napoleon was an earnest and, we can easily believe, an intelligent student in the seminaries of France. For two years after entering the priesthood he sojourned in Rome, where he joined the Society of Jesus. In 1838 we find him again in his native land, a student in Paris, and during the course of the following year a professor at St. Mary's College, Bardstown, Kentucky. It is at this point in his career that his narrative becomes especially interesting to students of American institutions.

In complimentary terms Father Thébaud describes the moral tone which then prevailed everywhere in the United States, and mentions gratefully the civility shown to his party during a journey from New York to Kentucky. He relates an incident that befell them *en route*, which, though an exception to this uniform excellence, finally furnished a proof of the general honesty. In the change received after paying his hotel expenses Father Thébaud found a counterfeit note, and afterward when speaking of the occurrence aroused the indignation of a citizen, who was ashamed to think that any American would take advantage of one unfamiliar with United States money. After taking the name and address of the clergyman this gentleman promised to give the matter his personal attention. He was as good as his word, for, soon after, restitution was made without the assistance of any civil magistrate. Public opinion was then so healthy that such functionaries were not required. Like other European observers Father Thébaud noticed, even along the great lines of travel, the absence of either soldiers or police.

From his first hours in the forests of Kentucky, and while mastering the difficulties of our language, the author proved himself an interested observer of every phase of nature, animated or otherwise. He corresponded monthly with Mr. Epsy, a gentleman who in 1840 had established a private weather bureau in Washington, and communicated the results of meteorological observations which were scientifically made. He aso investigated the effects upon animal life of the peculiar climatic conditions of that region. Chiefly to its influence he ascribes the existence in Kentucky of a giant race of men. In Louisville he became acquainted with one who had attained a height of eight feet.

From its earliest settlement the farmers of that region were interested in the welfare of their horses and cattle. Indeed, the author was probably not aware that at the very first session of the legislature of Transylvania, as Kentucky was called in early days, a law was enacted for the purpose of improving the breed of horses. In addition to the natural abundance of food and the favorable climate this early attention to the subject may serve to explain the perfection of the Kentucky breed of horses.

Of this modern Arcadia he sketches an admirable picture. There domestic purity was general and large families were the rule. The simple character of Kentucky farmers and Norman peasants is happily contrasted. Notwithstanding a national preference which it would be difficult for Father Thébaud altogether to suppress, he admits the superior intelligence of the former. All of them, he tells us, had the elements of letters. They read the newspapers and participated in government. He likewise praises the generosity of the people, and adds that they seldom had opportunities of practicing that virtue. However, though the instances of poverty were few, the universal disposition to oblige promptly relieved any accidental distress. He was struck, too, with the practical turn of mind of the pioneer and with the neatness of his personal appearance. The changes in this respect which have taken place Father Thébaud ascribes to the arrival of armies of immigrants. In trifles, indeed, even at that time Americans were open to criticism such as that indulged by Mrs. Trollope. In more important matters they were sound.

Though Father Thébaud admits the hard lot of the negro, he states that commonly masters were humane. Those who were not so were despised by their fellow planters, who often included in their number men of integrity and Christian feelings. He did not, however, believe with the Southern people that slavery was the basis of a superior civilization. "I could not," he says, "agree with them

knowing that slavery, as legally established in the South, was opposed to the divine law, and that no true Christian could avail himself of the tyrannical rights conferred by the civil law." The custom of breeding slaves on remote and lonely estates he characterizes as "disgraceful and horrible." Uncle Tom's Cabin, he believes, contains exaggerated illustrations of oppression, for in portraying the daily life of slaves Mrs. Stowe omits countless facts which tell the other side of the story. Notwithstanding the existence in Louisiana of a severe black code some of its more rigorous provisions were generally ignored by Catholics, who taught their slaves to read the catechism and the prayer book. He admits, indeed, that the slaves generally dwelt in wretched huts, but, as he points out, the homes of prosperous farmers were then far from elegant or even inviting. They were rude log cabins, poorly ventilated and showing in their decoration great lack of taste.

The author has interesting remarks upon American conservatism, as shown in the general opposition to amending the Federal Constitution. He contrasts in this respect the French and the American people of the Revolutionary epoch. Americans, he says, momentarily gave way to emotion; in the long run they were guided by reason. Though in the eye of the law all were equal, there might even then have been perceived the beginnings of distinct classes. Blood, talent, money were the elements on which these social divisions were based. However, there had not yet appeared that marked extravagance in living or that ostentatious display of wealth which Father Thébaud lived to witness.

The volume also notices the great diversity of population found in America. The unification of these ethnical elements, the author believes, was a consequence of the War for Independence. The character of Washington he greatly admired. The first President he regarded as a wise statesman, and, as far as human frailty permits, a perfect character. Indeed, with nearly everything American his sympathy is decidedly marked.

Father Thébaud is always instructive but he is especially so when he comes to describe the religious condition that succeeded the era of controversy. Church-building was the chief characteristic of that period. The author notices the interchange of pulpits which followed, and the consequent diminution of worshippers. When he arrived in America the great religious controversies were over. The discussion between Alexander Campbell and Mgr. Purcell had already taken place. One of the last of these debates, that between Father Hughes and Mr. Breckenridge, had occurred in Philadelphia. The

feeling toward Catholics was then very different from what it afterwards became. At St. Mary's College, where Father Thébaud was a professor, half the students were Protestants, some belonging to the best families of the Southwest. Among them were the sons of governors. Representatives and Senators in Congress also intrusted to the Jesuits the education of their children. He might have added that a few years earlier Catholic clergymen had been invited to assist in administering non-Catholic institutions, such as the college at Annapolis and the University of Michigan, and that honors both academic and public were then conferred upon priests. Time and events, however, were soon to change this happy state.

In a few well considered pages is discussed the rise of the Know-Nothing party. It is interesting to have on this important subject the candid opinions of a Jesuit priest. Even in the little by-places of Kentucky, where harmony had formerly prevailed, the spirit of intolerance had entered. In Marion County, where nearly half the farmers were Catholics, one of his people, he tells us, would not presume to call upon a Protestant, and if by chance they met upon a highway, they scarcely spoke. This feeling, if not of uniform strength, swept the entire country. Its origin is plausibly explained, and in the same connection is noticed its gradual decline after 1850.

The author does not entirely agree with Mr. Shea that this outbreak of fanaticism was due to the prejudices aroused by Protestant ministers in public meetings, in sermons and in books. Their unchristian activity, he admts, accounts for the excesses in 1834. The later movement was also intensified "by the increase of immigration and the changes which that increase portended and was already working out." Up to 1847 the influence in politics of foreign-born citizens was scarcely felt; but every day there arrived in New York City almost a thousand Irish Catholics. The social, political and religious changes which this invasion would bring about must have been to some extent foreseen. Some persons had visions of a papal army. By Dr. Shea these were regarded as the chief or almost the only causes of the outbreak of "Nativism." Indifferent Protestants in the Southern States were too sensible, says Father Thébaud, to be frightened by the bugbear of the Pope and his armies. They believed that the naturalization laws had been imprudently drawn, and they were convinced that Congress would not propose such amendments to the Constitution as were desired; hence they clamored for a change to effect this modification of the fundamental law. It was mainly for this purpose, says the author, that the secret society of Native Americans was founded. In the North even Democrats, who derived most

advantages from immigration, opposed foreign-born citizens from a fear that their own party would be ruled by ignorant Europeans. In the South, Whigs and Democrats alike opposed the naturalization laws because their effect was to give to the free States a great preponderance of political power. Outside of Louisville, where large numbers of Irish Catholics had settled, there was little bloodshed or incendiarism in the South. In that section the question appeared more or less academic, and men generally condemned the destruction of life and property that marked the movement in the North. The year 1848 brought from the continent of Europe great numbers of Hungarian, German, Italian and French revolutionists. In native opinion this new invasion aggravated existing conditions. Ministers were conspicuous as promoters of the mob. Editors, too, advocated violence against Catholics. Father Thébaud notices, however, the fairness of Horace Greeley and other prominent journalists. Better treatment of Catholics began with the higher classes. Among the first to assume toward them a more friendly attitude were the Federal officers who had come into contact with Catholicity during their travels in Europe.

Among the multitude of topics touched in these reminiscences is the exodus from Ireland after 1846. The condition of the plague-stricken immigrants arriving at Montreal and New York is described with an impressiveness which makes those awful scenes linger in the memory. The author shows clearly the nature of the problem forced upon the Church in America, and from his account one can easily infer how near it came to overwhelming the few priests then in the United States.

A valuable section of the book is devoted to an account of the growth since 1850 of the Catholic Church in the United States. Indeed, from the pages of Father Thébaud might be constructed a good outline of its development and a summary of the more important questions which arose after 1840. Finally, but by no means the least instructive, and closely related to this subject, is his very suggestive chapter on schools and colleges in the United States. This is an admirable survey and is worthy of the attention of even professional educators.

Dr. Herbermann's extensive knowledge of American history, together with his wide and accurate scholarship, is a guaranty that the editorial work is beyond rational criticism. From this installment of Father Thébaud's writings one might venture to predict the interest and value of the promised volumes on his recollections of France and of Italy.

CHAS. H. MCCARTHY.

Die Wissenschaft der speziellen Seelenführung. Von Dr. Cornelius Krieg, professor an der Universität Freiburg i. Br. Freiburg: Herder, 1904; St. Louis: B. Herder. 8°, pp. 588, $2.80.

The learning, zeal, experience, and unselfish ecclesiastical spirit of Dr. Krieg would make him eminently fit to write a model work on Pastoral Theology, did not his official position as professor of that science designate him for the task. No more valuable work has issued from the Herder press; it is a noteworthy addition to the already long series of the "Theologische Bibliothek."

After calling attention to the fewness and imperfection of all works dealing with the special duties of the Catholic pastor of souls, and to the incorrect standpoint of some writers he divides his material into four volumes dealing respectively with "the Science of the Pastoral Ministry in detail, Catechetic, Homiletic and Liturgy. A fifth volume is destined to contain a history of the specialized pastoral activities. For the present the author offers to the public the first volume, viz., that dealing with the pastoral ministry in the multitudinous details of its administration.

The work is divided into two very unequal parts—a first or general part, in which some elementary notions are discussed, the concept, nature and object of the "cura animarum," the nature of the soul, the priesthood, Christ, Church, pastor, the nature of ministry (cura), its value and influence, extent, its limits and aim, its fruits and the obstacles it meets with. In two preliminary chapters the author deals with the doctrinal ideas that underlie the administration of the pastoral office. He treats successively of the character, duties, names, etc., of the specialized ecclesiastical ministry, and of the personality of the pastor of souls—his zeal, conduct, social relations, knowledge and experience.

Hereupon follows a first section of the work (pp. 85–420) in which the particular conditions and the special means of the pastoral ministry are treated at much length and from the point of view of the individual Christian. Thus, humanity is considered from the standpoint of age, childhood, youth, old age, from that of sex and temperament, of health and sickness—physical and mental. Especially commendable are the pages (155–161) on melancholy, scruples and nervousness, and (pp. 181–238) on the care of the sick.

The spiritual welfare of his flock is naturally closer to the heart of the pastor than their physical well-being. And so there follow chapters on the "Conflict with Sin"—*i. e.*, the maladies of the intellect—error, ignorance, doubt, superstition, indifference, and infidelity, moral maladies of many kinds. Other chapters deal with the "Im-

perfect Life"—laxity, the state of the newly converted and the tempted, and with the Life of Perfection in the state of grace—innocence, piety, virtue, and the means to retain them, like prayer, the sacraments, examination of conscience, and other means. A special chapter is devoted to the pastoral care from the standpoint of one's condition and estate, single or married. And under the latter heading are treated the duties of several life-conditions—the official, the teacher, the soldier, the farmer, the craftsman, the day-laborer, servants. We may consider as an appendix the beautiful pages (343–360) devoted to the condition of the prisoners.

The means at the disposition of the pastor of souls are, of course, two—the sacrament of penance and private instruction. The character and qualifications of the confessor, the state of the penitent, the elements of confession, penance, and satisfaction, instruction and consolation, the medicinal office of the pastor, his duties as a judge—restitution, penances, absolution—the seal of the confessional, time and place and frequency of confession, extraordinary confessors, are treated with clearness and good order.

In the second section Dr. Krieg places the pastor of souls in view of the Christian society as organized—the parish and its societies. After some general considerations concerning the nature, name, ideal, individuality and aim of the organized ecclesiastical community, he proceeds to deal with it as the body of the faithful, and notably with the fundamental element of public worship. The ecclesiastical doctrine on Sunday observance, the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, extraordinary works like pilgrimages and other popular devotions, good reading, Christian art, pious books, catechisms, and the like, is expounded with brevity and sufficiency. But the pastor is also bound to protect the moral life of the community as such, hence a chapter on the conflict with vice and the preservation of the immemorial folk-heritage of good manners and habits (Volksitte), on the politico-social life of the community and the position of the pastor in political matters, on Christian discipline and obedience (Zucht), and on the parochial visitation. Among the minor organisms of the parish two are of the highest importance—the family and the school—hence the utility of the excellent doctrinal instruction given on pp. 466–481. Two obstacles to the growth of the moral life of the parish are alcoholism and a bad press—Dr. Krieg treats them with his usual ability.

In a Christian community the mutual relations of the members are governed by the great and holy law of charity—hence, chapters on the nature, scope , principles and organization of the care of the

poor and the sick, likewise on the spiritual solicitude of the pastor for the members of his flock, for foreign missions, the welfare of the young, especially those who have just quitted school, for women in particular, and for the intellectual improvement and more perfect culture of the whole people.

Finally the Christian life has been so intimately affected by the newer industrial and economic conditions that the "Social Question" imposes itself henceforth in an imperious way. Dr. Krieg describes its nature, origin and history, its relation to the Church and the clergy, the true remedies and the quarter whence they must come—the Gospel of Jesus Christ and His law of Charity. There follow brief excursus on the "Labor Question" and some problems aroused by it, on "Woman and Modern Conditions," on "Christian Associations" of various kinds—in general and in particular—notably on associations of a religious, charitable, ecclesiastico-political and artistico-scientific character.

This work of Dr. Krieg is eminently religious in its spirit and theological in its execution. It offers throughout to the priest a body of ecclesiastical doctrine drawn from the scriptures, the institutions and experience of the Church, the general spirit of her legislation and traditions, the wisdom of holy men through many centuries, and the dictates of right reason. It is scholastic in its arrangement and general argument, *i. e.*, his exposition moves "de notis ad ignota," with calmness and good sense. It is truly a scientifico-theological exposition of the special duties of the priest as pastor of souls. By its insistence on principles and its large philosophic manner of handling them, so that the consequences seem to flow naturally, he recalls the art of our late venerated colleague, Dr. Bouquillon in his well-known "Theologia Fundamentalis." For those who know German an abundant special "literature" is offered at the end of every important chapter or article. We cheerfully recommend it to all who wish to possess a pastoral "Directorium" made by one who is at once an exemplary and experienced priest, a scholar of acknowledged merit, and a teacher universally known and beloved in his fatherland.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Burden of the Time. Essays in Suggestion based upon certain of the Breviary Scriptures of the Liturgical Year. By Rev. Cornelius Clifford, priest of the Diocese of Newark, author of "Introibo." New York: The Cathedral Library Association, 1904. 8°, pp. 389. $1.50.

The Scriptures, as apportioned to the ecclesiastical season in the Roman Breviary seem rightly to Father Clifford to contain "a profound suggestiveness for the purposes of informal meditation." It is as a preacher and teacher that he selects from each week's portion a few texts or words of power and charm. On these he weaves a series of considerations, that aim at awakening in the reader a sense of the permanent use, pertinency, appositeness of the inspired writings as "excerpted and edited" by the Church herself. It is the method followed in his beautiful book entitled "Introibo," save that in this work he naturally appeals more to those who have received an ecclesiastical training, or have fitted themselves to appreciate a work that has been one of the civilizing books of Western humanity. The author says (p. xx) that "in the application which he has made of Scripture to present needs and problems the author has only had recourse to that chastened liberty of exegesis which is part of the constructive tradition of the Breviary itself. He has held frequently to the literal sense of passages wherever he could; but it will be seen that he has not beeen deaf to the deeper poetry of a more spiritual interpretation." An introductory essay on "Catholics and the Liturgical Use of Scripture" may be commended for the truth, good sense, and learning that are condensed in a few pages. The direct and implied scriptural quotations are brought out in italics, and incidentally this feature reveals the extent to which our English tongue has been formed and permeated by ancient Catholic thought. The paragraphs into which the author throws his interpretations of the Scripture text are modestly brief, usually clear and pointed, always colored with personal emotion and seldom devoid of that unction which is the life-blood of all spiritual argumentation. Father Clifford is clearly a man widely read in the ecclesiastical sciences of Scripture and History—the number of living questions to which he takes a position, directly or indirectly, reveal long and earnest preoccupation with the best works of Catholic and non-Catholic writers in the departments mentioned. Moreover, his book belongs within the limits of literature strictly so-called, by reason of a certain finish and grace of expression, ardor and individualism of thought, and that general refinement of presentation which lifts a book from the mob of industrious and mediocre compilations, and places it apart as the speech of a soul that has thought and felt for itself, not merely echoed inanely the watchwords of others. Such works do not always appeal to the taste of the multitude, which is tempted to see affectation and self-assertion where the reason of its dislike is truly its own ignorance, or that disuse of the higher life into which it has fallen. We might, per-

haps, reproach the author with a certain straining and over-nicety in the choice of words—certainly not a few of his readers will be obliged frequently to reflect, not alone on the scriptural texts that he handles with such dexterity, but on the somewhat novel vocabulary of the writer. Perhaps, too, it would be well, in another edition, to reprint in English translation the full context of the Breviary passages on which he comments—there is a certain importance in this because of the habit of Holy Church to mingle with the Scripture text her own intimate sense of its spirit and scope. All Latin passages should be translated into English, given the scope of the book—so many of our cultured laity know no Latin, and inevitably miss much of the author's sense by ignorance of the living text that he quotes as authority and evidence. For the rest, the work is an admirable specimen of modern book-making, and deserves to be widely read. Such books are excellent for the convalescent sick, for the lonely and melancholy in mind, for the world of *désoeuvrés* that our modern conditions are ever flinging out of their once fixed places in society—people of culture and piety but who are beginning to drift loosely at the old Catholic moorings of simple unquestioning faith and obedience.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN

MISCELLANEOUS.

Summula Philosophiæ Scholasticæ. Vol. II. Cosmologia et Psychologia. Dublinii: Browne et Nolan, 1904. Pp. vi + 423.

This is the second volume in a series prepared especially for the students of Mt. Melleray Seminary in Ireland. In its doctrine and method it is, as the title indicates, a manual of scholastic philosophy. But the author evidently realizes the importance of bringing that philosophy into contact with modern thought. Each thesis is supplied with references to current literature and with citations which are mostly in English. Recent views and theories are freely discussed and the author's own position is clearly stated. Psychology is defined as "the metaphysical science of living bodies," and the treatment of psychological problems is in keeping with this definition. The presentation is orderly and the divisions well marked. A judicious selection of type gives the book a pleasing appearance and facilitates the work of the student who may desire to get, in concise form, the teaching of the Schoolmen on some of the most important subjects in philosophy.

The Irish in the Revolution and the Civil War. Revised and enlarged, embracing the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars and every Walk of Life. By Dr. J. C. O'Connell. Washington, 1904. 8°, pp. 110.

Dr. O'Connell has done a noble work in rescuing from oblivion and recording the deeds of many Irishmen who have played a noteworthy part in the foundation and maintenance of the Republic of the United States. Though not a biographical dictionary, this pamphlet contains the names of most of the Irish Americans who have attained distinction or performed notable services in the new world. The large number whose names appear in the military history of the country, is small in proportion to the number whose efforts in civil life have aided in giving the United States its industrial and commercial preëminence.

Prayer Book for Religious. A complete manual of Prayers and Devotions for the Use of the Members of all Religious Communities. By Rev. F. X. Lasance. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1904. 12°, pp. 1155.

The character and contents of this book are not fully represented by its title. As a prayer-book for religious it is everything that could be desired; but it is also a book which ought to be in the hands of every Catholic, lay as well as religious. As a complete manual of Catholic devotion it has no equal in the English language.

The Mirror of True Manhood as reflected in the Life of St. Joseph. Translated from the French by Rev. John F. Mullany, LL.D. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co., 1904. 12°, pp. xi + 325.

The reverend translator is to be congratulated for his exquisite presentation to English readers of this record of the life and virtues of St. Joseph. The book is one which cannot fail to find a large circle of appreciative readers. It is stimulating for its tone of exalted spirituality as well as because it affords an easy way for the acquirement of the virtues which were so strikingly illustrated in the exalted career of the spouse of the Blessed Virgin.

Introduction to Dante's Inferno. By Adolphus T. Ennis. Boston: The Gorham Press, 1904. 8°, pp. 141.

This little book makes no pretence to be a commentary or historical explanation of the Inferno. It contains merely a synopsis of

the incidents related by Dante, showing their subordination to one main idea, the moral regeneration of mankind.

General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. (Abridged edition.) By Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S.S., D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1904. 8°, pp. 347.

This volume is an abridgment of the General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures published by the same author some years ago. It is intended for the use of students who are pursuing their theological studies, and for whom, because of the limited time at their disposal, the larger work was not available.

Le Palais de Caiphe et Le Nouveau Jardin Saint-Pierre des Pères Assomptionistes au Mont Sion. Par Le P. Urbain Coppens, O.F.M. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1904. 8°, pp. 94.

In this work the author discusses some questions recently raised regarding the exact location of the Palace of Caiphas and the Grotto of St. Peter. It is a valuable contribution to the literature of the topography of Jerusalem and will be of interest to all pilgrims to the places made sacred by the last scenes in the life of Our Lord.

Concerning the Holy Bible, Its Use and Abuse. By Rt. Rev. Mgr. John S. Vaughan. New York: Benziger, 1904. 8°, pp. 269.

This volume bears a double recommendation with it, the name of a well-known defender of the Catholic faith, and a warm letter of approval from Cardinal Logue. The author addresses himself, not to "the learned and the leisured," though they may profit by his science, but "to the masses of the people, to the ordinary men and women of the world, to tradesmen, artisans and laborers, whether in field or factory—in a word to those many millions of men and women whose occupations allow them little time for deep study and prolonged and wearisome research." Hence the style is simple and direct, and the doctrine such as any honest intelligent mind can grasp. We recommend to our Catholic people this good book, as a very useful "general account of the Divine Book, and of the vicissitudes through which it has passed, and the abuses as well as the uses to which it has sometimes been put." It is a great pity that such a book, destined for popular use, should have been allowed to appear without an index.

Our Bodies and How We Live. An Elementary Text-Book of physiology and hygiene for use in schools, by Albert F. Blaisdell, Revised edition. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1904. 8°, pp. 352.

There can be no doubt that Dr. Blaisdell speaks wisely when he says in the preface to this work that "boys and girls should have an opportunity to learn a few essential things about the anatomy and physiology of their own bodies. These facts in themselves are of comparatively little worth unless they enable our young folk to understand thoroughly the simple laws of health and to apply them diligently to their daily living." With this view he treats of the bony framework, food and drink, origin and nature of fermented drinks, digestion of food, circulation of the blood, breath, the skin and the kidneys, the nervous system, the special senses, the throat and the voice, first aid in accidents and energies, bacteria, diseases that spread and disinfectants, the care of the sick room, and the study of physiology in elementary schools. Very useful is the glossary of technical terms appended to the text.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Rosary, Scenes and Thoughts. By Rev. F. P. Garesché, S.J. New York: Benziger, 1904. 16°, pp. 177. $0.50.

The Parish Priest on Duty, A practical manual for pastors, curates and theological students, preparing for the mission (The Sacraments). By H. J. Heuser, Professor of Theology at Overbrook Seminary. New York: Benziger, 1904. 8°, pp. 143. $0.60.

The Imitation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. By Rev. F. Arnoudt, S.J., translated from the Latin by I. M. Fastre. New Edition. New York: Benziger, 1904. 8°, pp. 734. $1.25.

Compendium Sacræ Liturgiæ juxta ritum Romanum, etc. Scripsit P. Innocentius Wapelhorst, O.F.M. Editio sexta. New York: Benziger, 1904. 8°, pp. 601.

The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. By Rev. A. Lambing, LL.D. New York: Benziger, 1904, 32°, pp. 216. 35 cents.

The Way that Led Beyond. By J. Harrison. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1904. 8°, pp. 222.

DR. JOHN ADAMS ROBINSON.

It is with deep regret that we chronicle the death on September 1, 1904, of Dr. John A. Robinson, B.S., M.D., LL.B., late Associate Professor of Criminal Law in this University. He was born at Norwich, Connecticut, October 24, 1837, and was educated at Dartmouth College, whence he graduated in 1855. Subsequently he studied medicine in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City, and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1858. He was a surgeon in the Federal Army during the Civil War, and after its close studied law and received the degree of LL.B. from Yale University in 1870. He practised law in New Haven, Conn., for some time and was then appointed Librarian and Registrar of the Yale Law School, which positions he filled for many years, acting meanwhile as special instructor to backward students. In 1895, he became a member of the Faculty of Law of this University and so remained until his death on September 1, 1904. His knowledge of law and law books was vast and accurate, his comprehension of the difficulties of students was singularly clear, and his ability to explain to them the difficulties of the law, and his kindly and interested manner, made him a teacher of rare value and success. The University extends its sympathy to the bereaved family and relatives of the deceased.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

University Collection for 1903.—Additional Items.—The Diocese of Winona has contributed $484.57, and the Archdiocese of Santa Fe $57.70. The total reached so far is $104,081.53.

Gift of Valuable Books from the Marquise de Mérinville.—Our generous foundress and benefactress, the Marquise de Mérinville, has sent to the University Library a large case of valuable books, for which our sincere thanks are hereby returned to her.

Books on American History.—The University will soon receive from the Knights of Columbus a balance of some two thousand and odd dollars, which sum represents the excess of the collection taken up for the purpose of founding the Chair of American History. It is their intention that this sum should be spent in the purchase of books for the new department.

Monsignor MacDermott Scholarship.—The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Albany has remitted to the University the sum of five thousand dollars to establish a scholarship for the diocese of Albany, that shall be known as the "Monsignor MacDermott Scholarship."

Vacation Labors of Professors.—Dr. Hyvernat published in the *Revue Biblique* for October the third instalment of his Petite Introduction à l'étude de la Massore, viz., Lexique Massorétique (from Aleph to Lamedh). The other letters (Mem to Tau) will appear shortly, possibly in the coming January number. He also finished the classification and division of the fifty volumes of writings of the Scriptores Coptici for the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, together with the design for a new Coptic font for the Imprimerie Nationale at Paris.

Dr. Zahm's paper "Atmospheric Friction on even Surfaces," read before the National Academy of Sciences in April, was communicated to the July *Philosophical Magazine* by the Rt. Hon. Lord Rayleigh, together with a commentary note by that eminent physicist discussing the general equation of fluid friction and the laws announced in the paper. These laws were discovered by Dr. Zahm during his experimental researches of 1903, and form the basis of a paper read before the International Aeronautic Congress at St. Louis in which he shows their application to problems in terrestrial and

aerial locomotion, particularly to the design of air ships and high-speed railway trains.

Dr. Egan delivered four lectures at Maryland Summer School on "Shaksperean Interpretation," early in August. In September he delivered two lectures in St. Paul, at the request of Rev. Thomas Gibbins, rector of St. Mary's Church, on "The Feminine Influence in the Merchant of Venice," two in Chicago by request of the Hon. W. J. Onahan, on "The Human Interest in Shakspere," and one on "The History of the Novel" for the benefit of the Public Library Association of Bemidji, Minn.

Dr. Bolling presented to the American Philological Association during its meeting at St. Louis, on September 17, an edition of the Çāntikalpa of the Atharva Veda—introduction, text, translation, and critical and exegetical commentary. On September 23, he read before the Section of Brahmanism and Buddhism of the International Congress of Arts and Sciences at St. Louis, a paper on : "The Backward Recitation of *mantras* as a Vedic means of Witchcraft."

Rev. Dr. Shields delivered eighteen lectures on the Principles of Pedagogy to the Christian Brothers' summer institute at Ocean City, N. J., July 7–16; twelve lectures on the Principles of Pedagogy to the summer institute of the Sisters of the Holy Cross at St. Mary's Academy, July 18–24; twenty-two lectures on the Principles of Pedagogy to the summer institute of the Sisters of St. Francis at Alverno, Wisconsin, July 25–August 1; twelve lectures on the Principles of Pedagogy to the Sisters' Institute of the Diocese of Los Angeles, Cal., August 15–20; four lectures on the Art of Teaching to the Sisters of the Visitation, St. Paul, August 2–8; two lectures to the Sisters of the Visitation, Cabine Place, St. Louis, on the Psychology of Culture, September 19 and 24; one lecture to the Sisters of St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul, on "Self-reliance," August 4; one lecture on the Meaning of Culture under the auspices of the Catholic Woman's Club, Los Angeles, Cal., August 22; one lecture to the Sisters of the Holy Name at Oakland, Cal., on Phases of Mental Development, August 25; one lecture to St. Clara's College, Sinsinawa, Wis., on "Methods of Study," September 13; one lecture to Sisters of St. Dominic, Sinsinawa, Wis., on "The Positive versus the Negative Method of correcting Error," September 14; one lecture to the Sisters of St. Joseph, Carondelet, Mo., on the "Present Meaning of Education," September 16; one lecture to the teachers of the Ferguson School, Chicago, on "The Scientific Basis of Teaching," September 29; one lecture on the "Art of Study" at St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, August 27.

Rev. Dr. Pace delivered a lecture July 24 at the Champlain Summer School on "Christian Faith and Modern Thought." He also gave the following lectures: before the Provincial Education Association at Truro, Nova Scotia, August 17, "Psychology and Education"; at Mt. St. Vincent Academy, Halifax, Nova Scotia, July 28, "The Value of Psychology for Teachers"; at the Visitation Academy, St. Louis, September 21, "Practical Aspects of Psychology"; at St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, Indiana, September 30, "The Immortality of the Soul." Dr. Pace also presided as Chairman in the Section of Experimental Psychology of the International Congress of Arts and Science held at St. Louis September 19–25.

Rev. Dr. Maguire delivered seven lectures on "The Teaching of Latin" before the Teachers' Institute, Los Angeles, California, August 15–20. He also gave a lecture, September 8, to the teachers of the Academy of the Sacred Heart, San Francisco, California, on "The Reading of Latin."

Rev. Dr. John T. Creagh, Associate Professor of Canon Law, has been appointed a member of the Pontifical Commission for the Codification of the Canon Law.

Degrees Granted at Commencement, 1904.—The following degrees were granted on Commencement Day, Wednesday, June 11, 1904.

Faculty of Theology.

Bachelors in Theology.—Rev. Frederick Burget, Indianapolis; Rev. Matthew J. Duggan, New York; Rev. John B. Geisel, of the Marist College; Rev. Eugene Anthony Heffernan, Los Angeles; Rev. Peter V. Jung, of the Marist College; Rev. Bernard A. McKenna, Philadelphia; Rev. James P. McPeak, Syracuse; Rev. Dennis J. Ryan, Alton, Ill.; Rev. Henry C. Schuyler, Philadelphia; Rev. Francis X. Unterreitmeyer, Indianapolis, and Rev. Aloysius Ziskowski, St. Paul.

Licentiates in Theology.—Rev. Robert J. Achstetter, of Baltimore, Dissertation: "The Sacrificial Character of the Eucharist." Rev. John H. W. Corbett, of Boston, Dissertation: "The Decree 'Insuper' of the Council of Trent upon the Latin Vulgate." Rev. Matthias Cuevas, of Santander, Spain, Dissertation: "De Hominis Deificatione." Rev. Joseph A. Dupont, of Dubuque, Dissertation: "Rabanus Maurus; Educator of the Clergy in the Ninth Century." Rev. John M. Gannon, of Erie, Pa., Dissertation: "Free Will and Grace." Rev. John J. Greaney, of Pittsburg, Dissertation: "Archbishop Richard Fitzralph of Armagh." Rev. Ralph Hunt, of San

Francisco, Dissertation: "Papias a Witness to our Four Gospels." Rev. John G. Schmidt, of St. Louis, Dissertation: "Pope Adrian VI: His Efforts for Reform." Rev. Nicholas A. Weber, of the Marist College, Dissertation: "The Pre-Constantinian Latin Versions of Christian Writings."

Faculty of Philosophy.

Doctor of Philosophy.—The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred upon the following: Rev. Romanus Butin, S.M., Dissertation: "The Meaning and Purpose of the Ten Extraordinary Points in the Pentateuch." Rev. Leo L. Dubois, S.M., Dissertation: "St. Francis as a Social Reformer." Rev. Julius A. Nieuwland, C.S.C., Dissertation: "Some Reactions of Acetylene." Rev. Michael F. Oswald, C.S.C., Dissertation: "The Use of the Prepositions in Appolonius Rhodius compared with their Use in Homer." Rev. James J. Trahey, C.S.C., Dissertation: "De Nominibus et Verbis Ennodi Hieronymique inter se collatis."

Faculty of Law.

Bachelor of Law.—The degree of Bachelor of Laws was conferred on William P. Burns, of Michigan City, Ind.

Doctor of Law.—The degree of Doctor of Law was conferred on Frederick Dennett, Esq., Milton, N. Dak., Dissertation: "Ultra Vires."

Doctor of Civil Law.—The degree of Doctor of Civil Law was conferred upon Kiyomichi Seshimo, Tokio, Japan, Dissertation: "Comparative Study of the Civil Law, American Law and Japanese Law on the Subject of Shipping and Admiralty, with special reference to the Law of Collisions."

The Professor of Gaelic.—Dr. Joseph Dunn, the new professor of Gaelic, was born at New Haven, Conn., and educated in the public schools of that city. In 1895 he graduated from Yale University with the degree of A.B. He then spent three years in the same school, devoting himself entirely to Romance philology and received in 1898 the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He was appointed instructor in Latin in the Catholic University 1898–1900, and instructor in Romance languages and literature, 1900–1901. In the Spring of 1901 he was appointed fellow in Keltic with leave of absence for three years in preparation for the post of A.O.H. professor of Keltic languages and literature at the university. The first year of preparation was spent at Harvard University under the direction of Professor F. N. Robinson who has done most to create an academic interest in

Keltic studies in America. The year 1902–1903 was spent at the University of Freiburg, Germany, with Professor Rudolph Thurneysen, one of the greatest living Keltists. The year 1903–1904 was spent at the Faculté des Lettres, Rennes, Brittany, where Dr. Dunn followed the courses and private instruction of Professors Loth and Dottin. The former is dean of the Faculty of Rennes and the highest authority on Welsh and Breton. The latter is the only continental scholar who has given particular attention to the more recent phases of Irish grammar and Irish literature. While abroad, Dr. Dunn spent his vacations in Ireland, where he studied the living language. He also did considerable copying of old Irish MSS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the British Museum, the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin.

The First Professor in the Chair of American History.—Dr. Charles H. McCarthy, the first incumbent of the Chair of American History, founded in 1904 by the Knights of Columbus, was born in 1860 at Franklin, New Jersey. He received his early education in the public schools of his native place where he was afterwards engaged for several years as a teacher and assistant principal. During some years he held a responsible office in one of the government departments at Washington, but in 1887 resumed his studies, and accepted a position as teacher and instructor in history at the Catholic High School in Philadelphia, which place he held until his appointment to the Chair of American History. In 1893 he entered the University of Pennsylvania, and pursued the study of American history and institutions under the direction of Dr. McMaster and Dr. Thorpe. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania in 1898, at which time he presented a dissertation on "Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction" (McClure, Phillipps and Co., New York, 1901, 8°, pp. 500). Dr. McCarthy has also held the office of Instructor in English and American History in the Institute of Pedagogy conducted in New York City under the auspices of the Catholic University (1902–1904).

CA
LH 1 .C3B7 v.10 SMC
Catholic University Bulletin
BCZ-0780
v. 10.